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LECTURES

ON THE

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY,

ACCOMPANIED WITH

NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIVE ENGRAVINGS.

BY THE LATE

REV. EZEKIEL BLOMFIELD.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED BY BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY, AND ALLEN,
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1819.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In submitting this posthumous volume to the ordeal of public opinion, the editor feels that it is due to the memory of his departed friend, to solicit on its behalf the exercise of that candour, which the circumstances of its publication may justly claim. This indulgence, he is persuaded, will not be withheld, when it is stated, that the following lectures, having been delivered from brief notes, were not committed to writing till the constitution of their author was so broken down by sickness, as to render him unequal to the task of transcribing, or even of revising them; that they were dictated amidst great mental languor and bodily infirmity, to a friend, who kindly undertook the office of amanuensis; and that, after all, the MS. was left in a very unfinished state. This deficiency, the editor has endeavoured in some measure, though very inadequately, to supply. He did not, however, feel himself at liberty, nor could he command sufficient leisure, to complete the design of the author, which was broken off by death; or to superadd those decorations of style, which would probably have been imparted, if the work had undergone a careful revision. Yet, notwithstanding these imperfections, which the judicious reader cannot fail to discern, it is hoped, the work will be found on perusal to be not unworthy of the acknowledged talents of its author, or of the distinguished patronage with which it has been honoured.

August, 1819.

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MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

IT is usually expected, (and the expectation is not unreasonable,) that a posthumous publication should contain some biographical notice of its author, who has passed beyond the tribunal of public opinion, and is indifferent alike to human censures or applause. That such a memoir should be prefixed to the present posthumous work, will be felt to be the more desirable, as the design of its publication is, not so much to secure the literary reputation of its author, (in which case it must rest exclusively on its own merits,) as to call forth the liberality of the Christian public, in behalf of a bereaved family, who are deeply interested in its success. The life of an individual, whose days were spent in literary retirement, or occupied with the unostentatious duties of the Christian pastor ;—however interesting to his personal friends, and to the circle of his immediate acquaintance,—cannot be expected to prove fertile in incidents which are calculated to engage the attention, or to awaken the sympathies of more distant observers. Yet a brief record of the principal events even of *such* a life, may not be without its use, to those who would study attentively, all the varieties of human character, and duly appreciate all the forms of moral excellence. The editor, to whom has been confided the charge of preparing for the press the following “Lectures on the Philosophy of History,” would have needed no other inducement to attempt the task of drawing up a memoir of his deceased friend, than that which arose out of the recollections of early friendship; but in addition to this personal motive, he has been prompted to undertake it, both by the solicitations of the surviving relatives of the author, and still more by a hope, that the incidents of a life filled up and pre-

maturely exhausted with unremitting efforts to do good, may be productive of some moral benefit to mankind.

EZEKIEL BLOMFIELD was born on the 28th of October, 1778, at North Walsham, in the county of Norfolk. His parents, though destitute of wealth, and occupying a very lowly station in society, possessed those moral and religious qualities, which infinitely exceed in value all worldly abundance. It was their first care to train up their children in the fear of God, and to communicate, as early as possible, the first principles of revealed truth to their rising offspring; though their circumstances precluded the possibility of imparting to them the advantages of a liberal education. The subject of this memoir spent the first five years of his life in his native town; and, even at that tender age, indications were given by him both of a mind ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, and of a conscience alive to the impressions of religious truth. Though his means of acquiring knowledge were few and exceedingly limited, his attainments were rapid and far beyond his years. Before he was capable of reading the sacred scriptures for himself, he was accustomed to request his friends to relate the principal facts contained in the Sacred Volume; and especially those which are connected with the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ. While listening with earnest and fixed attention to these interesting records, the tear of juvenile sensibility was often observed to glisten in his eye, and trickle down his cheeks; thus affording a delightful omen of the attachment he subsequently felt to the doctrines of the cross, and the zeal with which he was in future years to proclaim them to mankind.

The removal of Mr. Blomfield's parents from North Walsham to Norwich, in 1783, presented new subjects of enquiry to his expanding mind, and opened new channels of information. These served but to excite more highly that insatiable desire of knowledge, which had characterized him from his infancy; they made him more eager to acquire those stores of knowledge, of which he found others in possession, and in which he conceived happiness chiefly to consist. But such insuperable difficulties

seemed to lie in his way, that his spirits were manifestly affected by them ; and, for several years, instead of exhibiting the usual vivacity of childhood, he became dejected and melancholy. But as these difficulties gradually vanished, and “ knowledge, to his eyes, her ample page unrolled,” that depression gave place to ardour and unwearied application. In proof of the early bias of his mind to historical and philosophical research, it appears that, before he had attained his tenth year, he set about collecting and arranging a system of natural history, and filling up a chronological table of events, by the aid alone of his father’s family Bible, which was almost the only book to which he then had access.

It is not uninteresting to observe, how apparently trifling and fortuitous are the circumstances which frequently give a direction and resistless impulse to untutored genius. In the present case, the whole train of our author’s future studies and pursuits seems to have been occasioned by the accidental perusal of two books, with which he met in 1787. One of these was that well-known and deservedly popular work of Mrs. Barbauld’s, entitled “ *Evenings at Home* ;” which first developed to his enquiring mind some of the most striking phenomena of nature : the other was a compilation, partly scientifical, and partly historical. The latter of these departments of knowledge chiefly engaged his attention at this period. He now began to read, with the utmost avidity, every work on history which he could obtain from any quarter ; nor did he rest, till his memory was stored with all the principal facts, both of antient and modern, of sacred and profane, history.

But while thus ardent in the pursuit of general knowledge, the religious impressions of his childhood were gradually effaced. He began to relax, and at length threw off completely, the restraints of his religious education ; he neglected the sabbath, and other sacred institutions which he had been early taught, both by precept and example, to venerate and observe ; he yielded to a species of literary ambition, which withdrew his attention, and alienated his affections, from the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. Yet even at this period, (which was certainly one

of imminent danger, and on the recollection of which he frequently dwelt with deep regret,) he has often ~~been~~ ~~heard~~ to confess, that he was unable to silence the remonstrances of his conscience, or to sin with complacency and satisfaction, or wholly to discontinue the habit of secret devotion. But in the fifteenth year of his age, the religious impressions of his childhood were renewed with increased force and durability. Then he was first led clearly to discern, and cordially to receive, that method of salvation which the scriptures reveal ; then first he was brought to exercise an humble and unshaken reliance on the atonement of Jesus Christ for pardon and divine acceptance ; then first he sought, with importunity and sincerity, the mercy of God through the divine Redeemer. About this time he began also to exercise the talent for versification, which had discovered itself in very early life, chiefly in the composition of poems on moral and devotional subjects.

These poetic effusions, added to the evidences he exhibited of native-talent and youthful piety, introduced him to the notice of several benevolent individuals, by whose generous aid he was placed under the tuition of the late Rev. S. Newton, of Norwich. Possessed of such advantages, he made rapid progress in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, to which his attention was now almost exclusively directed. But this period of his life was also marked by some painful, though they eventually proved salutary, exercises of mind. His literary ardour had in too great a degree withdrawn his attention from the standard of revealed truth. He was consequently assailed with doubts relative to some of the vital and essential truths of Christianity ; and, at one time, was almost on the point of abandoning them for speculations of human invention. But he was mercifully preserved from “making shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience ;” his doubts led him to a more diligent investigation of the doctrines of Revelation, and terminated in a more rational and decided conviction of their truth and importance. In 1796, Mr. Blomfield became a member of the Christian society at Norwich, which had long been under the pastoral care of his revered tutor ; and was shortly afterwards impressed with an earnest desire to devote himself to the work of the Christian minis-

try. About the commencement of the following year, he was admitted a student at the old college, Homerton ; of which the Rev. Dr. Fisher was then the theological, and the Rev. John Berry, the classical tutor. He enjoyed, however, the advantages of this excellent institution but for a very short period ; the state of his health having rendered the temporary suspension of his studies necessary. It was during the few months of his residence at Homerton, that the writer of this brief memoir became acquainted with him ; and he well remembers to have been particularly impressed with the great facility with which Mr. B. acquired knowledge, the varied and almost exhaustless stores of his information, the fluency of his utterance, and the intellectual excellence of his academical exercises.

On leaving Homerton, Mr. Blomfield resided at Norwich nearly twelve months, for the recovery of his health. At the expiration of that period, he was invited to supply a destitute congregation at Wymondham ; and his ministry having proved acceptable to them, he consented to become their pastor, and was consequently ordained over them. At his first settlement in this town, some of its principal inhabitants were actuated by a spirit of hostility towards the dissenters who resided among them, ; and the different denominations of dissenters were also at variance with each other. But after a short period, his prudent and conciliatory deportment effectually disarmed opposition, healed internal divisions, and secured the esteem of all parties. By his zealous and unremitting efforts, the society, over which he presided, was greatly increased ; religious knowledge was more widely diffused ; and a spirit of zeal enkindled, which led to the happiest results. The unenlightened villages around were furnished with more abundant means of Christian instruction ; sabbath-schools were instituted ; united missionary prayer-meetings established, and many other schemes of Christian benevolence devised and executed.

On his first coming to Wymondham, Mr. Blomfield resided in the house of a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends, the younger branches of whose family he instructed in the ordinary departments of education. By this means he was introduced to the acquaintance and friendship of many of that religious denomination, for whom

he continued to cherish through life, sentiments of unfeigned esteem and warm attachment. On the 20th of October, 1800, he entered into the conjugal relation. The object of his choice was Mary, the daughter of Mr. Funnell of Hunworth, in Norfolk, who still lives, with eight of his endeared offspring, to revere his memory, and lament his loss.

Soon after his marriage, Mr. Blomfield was requested to deliver a course of "Lectures on History," to a select number of the inhabitants of Wymondham. These lectures were hastily written for the occasion, and have not been preserved; but they contributed to fix more determinately his choice of the historic muse, as the favourite companion of his literary hours. About this time, the necessity of augmenting his pecuniary resources, induced him to enter into an engagement with Mr. Brightly of Bungay, to write several works on theological, geographical, and historical subjects, which have since been published, and obtained extensive circulation. As some of these were rather compilations and abridgments, than original productions, and as they were necessarily written with extreme haste, it would be manifestly unfair to estimate by them his literary character: yet of these hasty effusions it may be safely affirmed, that they are for the most part characterized by originality of thought, sprightliness of manner, and a rich infusion of moral and religious sentiment. While these engagements yielded him a comfortable pecuniary remuneration, it may be apprehended that, the severe effort of mind, and the long protracted studies requisite to the preparation of the stipulated quantum of composition, added to the number and frequency of his official engagements, silently but effectually sapped his enfeebled constitution, and laid the foundation of that disease, which terminated his mortal existence. Unfortunately for Mr. Blomfield, he was about this time induced, by the urgent solicitations of some friends, who were desirous of rendering him a valuable service, to undertake a local share in Mr. Brightly's concern, and to accept of a loan of money for that purpose. The enterprize did not succeed, and all the property that had been embarked in it was lost. There remained nothing, as the result of the sanguine expectations cherished by himself and his friends, but a weight of pecuniary embarrassment that rested heavily upon his mind

through the remainder of his days, and prematurely stink him to the grave.. To the failure of this undertaking, (amongst other causes, which it is not necessary to detail here,) is to be attributed the removal of Mr. Blomfield from Wymondham to Wortwell, which took place in the year 1809. At this latter place, in connection with Harleston, he continued to labour, with unwearied zeal and assiduity, among a people who were most affectionately attached to him, till death deprived them of his valuable services. His residence at Wortwell is connected with some circumstances, that mark the benevolence of his disposition, the energy of his character, and the enlarged scale on which he meditated to do good. Soon after his removal to Wortwell, an interesting conversation took place between himself and an intimate friend, relative to the probable deficiency of copies of the sacred Scriptures in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Mr. Blomfield expressed his conviction, that, if an enquiry were instituted on the subject, it would be found that there were villages, in which scarcely an entire copy of the Sacred volume could be obtained. In confirmation of this opinion, he mentioned a somewhat singular circumstance, which had occurred to himself during his residence at Wymondham. On going to preach at a neighbouring village, he found that the mistress of the house in which religious worship was conducted, had lent out her Bible; with much difficulty one was procured from a neighbour ; but this was in so tattered a state, that he was under the necessity of changing his text. This fact so deeply impressed the mind of the friend to whom the anecdote was related, that it was agreed on the same evening, to draw up a circular, recommending the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society, which led to the appointment of a provisional committee, and terminated in the establishment of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society. This conference took place at a time, when as yet there were few such institutions in the kingdom ; and when the task of exciting a disposition throughout the county to concur in such a design, would have appeared to a less sanguine mind, altogether hopeless and impracticable. From that time to his death, the Bible Society engaged his warmest affections, and called forth all the energies of his soul. Many can attest the efficient services rendered by him to the several branches of the Norfolk and Suffolk Bible Societies,

both in their committees and anniversary meetings ; services which were continued amidst the pressure of official engagements, the languor of protracted sickness, and the ravages of internal decay.

Towards the close of the year 1810, the active mind of Mr. Blomfield was occupied with a plan, which, he conceived, would greatly facilitate the progress of scholars in acquiring the elements of a classical education. A minute description of this improved method of instruction, would be both tedious and uninteresting to ordinary readers ; it is sufficient to remark, that it proceeded in part upon the principle of applying the British system of education to grammatical exercises, and of blending the knowledge of history with the acquisition of the antient and modern languages. An experiment was made on several individuals of the practicability and utility of this mode of instruction ; but circumstances did not permit the object of this memoir to submit his project to a full and satisfactory trial. Whether it might have proved advantageous or not, the conception originated in the desire of usefulness, which was his governing principle through life, and continually prompted him to new and encreased exertions.

Nothing indeed was further from the character of Mr. Blomfield than to indulge in speculation and theory. He was most anxious that every literary and religious enterprize, in which he engaged, should bear directly on the advancement of human happiness by the amelioration of the character and moral condition of mankind. With this view he meditated at one period, a work of considerable extent, which was intended to exhibit a comprehensive view of the "History of Education," from its rudest and humblest form, to its highest degree of elevation. Conceiving that ignorance is one of the principal sources of vice and misery, it was his earnest hope, that a society might be established for the purpose of obtaining and diffusing information relative to the various modes of instruction, and different systems of education, which have prevailed in any age or country, and have contributed, in any degree, to the moral or intellectual cultivation of any portion of the human race. As a preparatory step to the constitution of such a society, he applied himself

vigorously to the preparation and accumulation of materials for a work on "Popular Education." This projected treatise was to have been divided into four parts; the first was to contain a history of the origin, progress, and effects, of "popular education," in England and Wales, from the time of the Druids and Bards, down to the present period. This portion of the work Mr. Blomfield completed, as far as to the death of George II. In the second part, it was proposed to explain the various processes which have been made use of in elementary education; the different kinds of rewards and punishments which have been employed, and an impartial estimate of their comparative excellence was to have been attempted. Sufficient materials for this division of the work not having been collected, it was left in an unfinished state. The third part was to contain the history of the British and Madras systems, Sunday, and other charity schools, &c. &c. The fourth part was to contain complete lists of all the national, Lancastrian, parochial, Sunday, and other charity schools, throughout the kingdom, arranged according to the counties and hundreds in which they are situated. An active correspondence was instituted with persons, residing in distant parts of the kingdom, with the hope of obtaining the necessary information on these subjects; but the returns were so inadequate, as to oblige him to abandon the undertaking.

Whilst occupied with the prosecution of plans, which seemed calculated to ameliorate the condition, and augment the happiness of mankind, Mr. Blomfield was himself the subject of corroding cares and most distressing anxieties. His family increased; his income was wholly inadequate to their support; and his domestic embarrassments multiplied daily. But the solicitude of his mind was scarcely known to an individual; his sorrows were carefully locked up within his own breast, or only poured forth in secret to Him, who knows the heart and its bitterness, and can accomplish deliverance for those who trust in Him. In this perplexed state of feeling, Mr. B. attended the lectures of Mr. Thos. Stackhouse, on the "Druidical and other architectural remains of Great Britain," which were delivered at Harleston in September, 1815. On his return from the last of these interesting lectures, the idea occurred forcibly to his mind, that a series of lectures on the "*Philosophy of His-*

tory," might not be unacceptable to the public; and if patronized by them, might tend to relieve him from his embarrassments, and furnish means of providing for the necessities of his family. On the same day the outlines of the following lectures were sketched, and a course of reading was commenced on the various subjects which they embrace. The winters of 1815 and 1816, were chiefly occupied with the perusal of the most approved works on history, for the purpose of reviving the recollection of facts, with which his memory had been early stored. That the train of thought, and modes of illustration, pursued in these lectures, might be *his own*, he avoided reading the productions of philosophical historians, however ingenious and elaborate their compositions might be; lest he should be misled by their hypotheses, and substitute the theories of speculative minds, for the deductions of historical evidence. It was not till the principles stated and illustrated in the following pages had been thoroughly investigated, and the fullest conviction of their truth had possessed his mind, that he allowed himself to consult the opinions of others, who had travelled over the same ground; and then, rather for the purpose of illustration, than as authorities.

In April 1816, Mr. Blomfield began to deliver the lectures, which are now presented to the public. They were first addressed to a numerous and respectable audience at Harleston, about two miles from his residence, and the scene of part of his ministerial labours; and during the course of that and the following year, he lectured at Bungay, Beccles, Eye, Diss, Norwich, Wymondham, Southwold, Lowestoft, Yarmouth, Ipswich, Colchester, Witham, and Maldon. As he proceeded in these towns, he met with highly encouraging success, and was favoured with the patronage of several distinguished individuals. Towards the close of the year 1817, he made arrangements for lecturing early in the spring of the following year, at Bocking and Chelmsford.

The cheering prospect now opened upon Mr. Blomfield of rising above the pressure of poverty and domestic embarrassment. But these hopes were quickly damped by his increasing debility, and the rapid decay of his constitution. A succession of colds which were but too little re-

garded, and exertions above measure and far beyond his strength, both in preaching and lecturing, soon demolished a frame, which had never been vigorous, and which needed the utmost attention. The last time on which he officiated publicly, was on Lord's day, the 1st of February, 1818; when, though labouring under heavy sickness and acute pain, he preached a short discourse, and administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, to the people of his charge at Wortwell. After this, the disease made rapid progress, though sometimes attended with flattering and delusive symptoms, by which both himself and his friends were not unfrequently deceived. Through the whole of his sickness, he was favoured with a "hope full of immortality," and enjoyed no ordinary degree of that "peace, which passeth all understanding." The prevailing temper of his mind was, gratitude, with which his heart was frequently so deeply affected, as almost to overpower his faculties. The circle of his personal friends will not need to be reminded of the wisdom, the affection, the more than paternal tenderness of his dying counsels; nor can they ever lose the grateful remembrance of the calm and sacred delight that beamed from his countenance,—the language of devout and holy triumph that flowed from his lips,—the joyful anticipations of approaching felicity, that sparkled in his eye, even at nature's lowest ebb, and when death and eternity were in full prospect. The termination of his life was somewhat sudden, though the event was not unexpected. Some favourable symptoms having appeared, he was induced to try the effect of change of air; and with this view proceeded, by easy stages, to the house of his friend, Mr. Samuel Webster, of Benhall, near Saxmundham. The effect of this experiment was, at first, such as to inspire his friends with hopes of his speedy convalescence; but these hopes were quickly destroyed by his sudden dissolution, which took place as he was in the act of dressing himself, on the morning of the 14th July, 1818. On the 21st of the same month, he was interred in the meeting-house at Wortwell, amidst the regrets and tears of his afflicted family, his bereaved flock, and a numerous circle of endeared friends.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAPS.

Nos. 1, 2. Are coloured according to the colours of the inhabitants.

Nos. 3, 4, 5. Are intended to indicate the different conditions of nations, namely,

Red for Barbarians.

Light red, for fishing tribes.

Green, for pastoral.

Brown, for agricultural.

Yellow, for commercial.

Mixed colours, to indicate a mixture of two or more modes of habit.

Nos. 6, 7. Only to show the extent of modern empires.

Nos. 8, 9, 10. Religious systems.

Paganism, black.

Deism, blue.

Magianism, yellow.

Judaism, red in the antient.

Papery, deep red.

Protestanism, yellow red.

Oriental churches, blue red.

Sect of Ali among the Mahometans, blue green

Sect of Omar, yellow green.

Nos. 11, 12. Black, unknown to the antients.

Brown, partly known.

Yellow, well known.

When Mr. Blomfield delivered the lectures, he employed maps 1, 2, to illustrate lecture 1.—Maps 3, 4, 5, for lectures 2, 3.—Maps 6, 7, for lecture 4.—Maps 8, 9, 10, for lecture 5.—Maps 11, 12, for lecture 6; and the above is the only explanation which was left of them.



N^o 2.

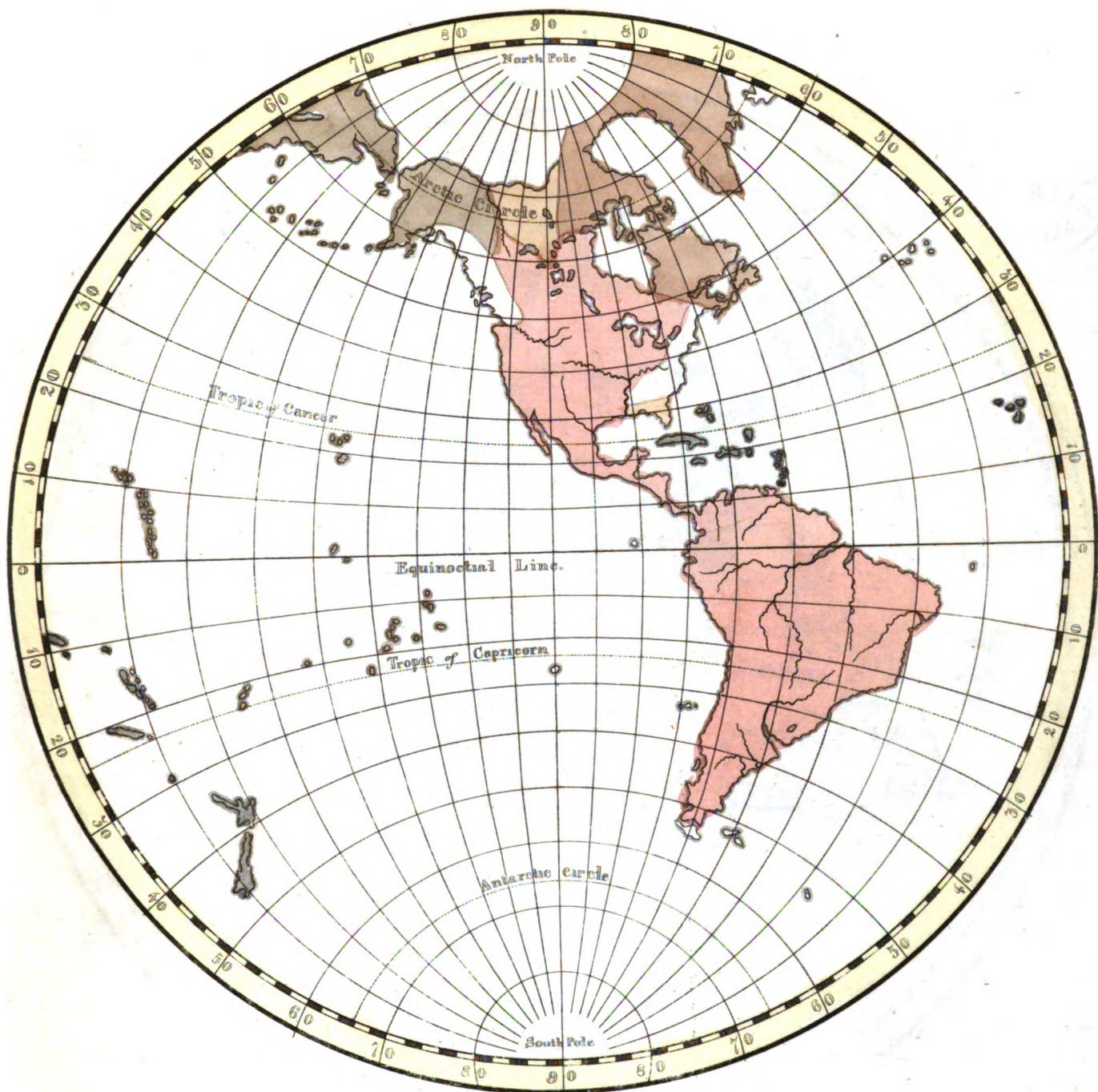
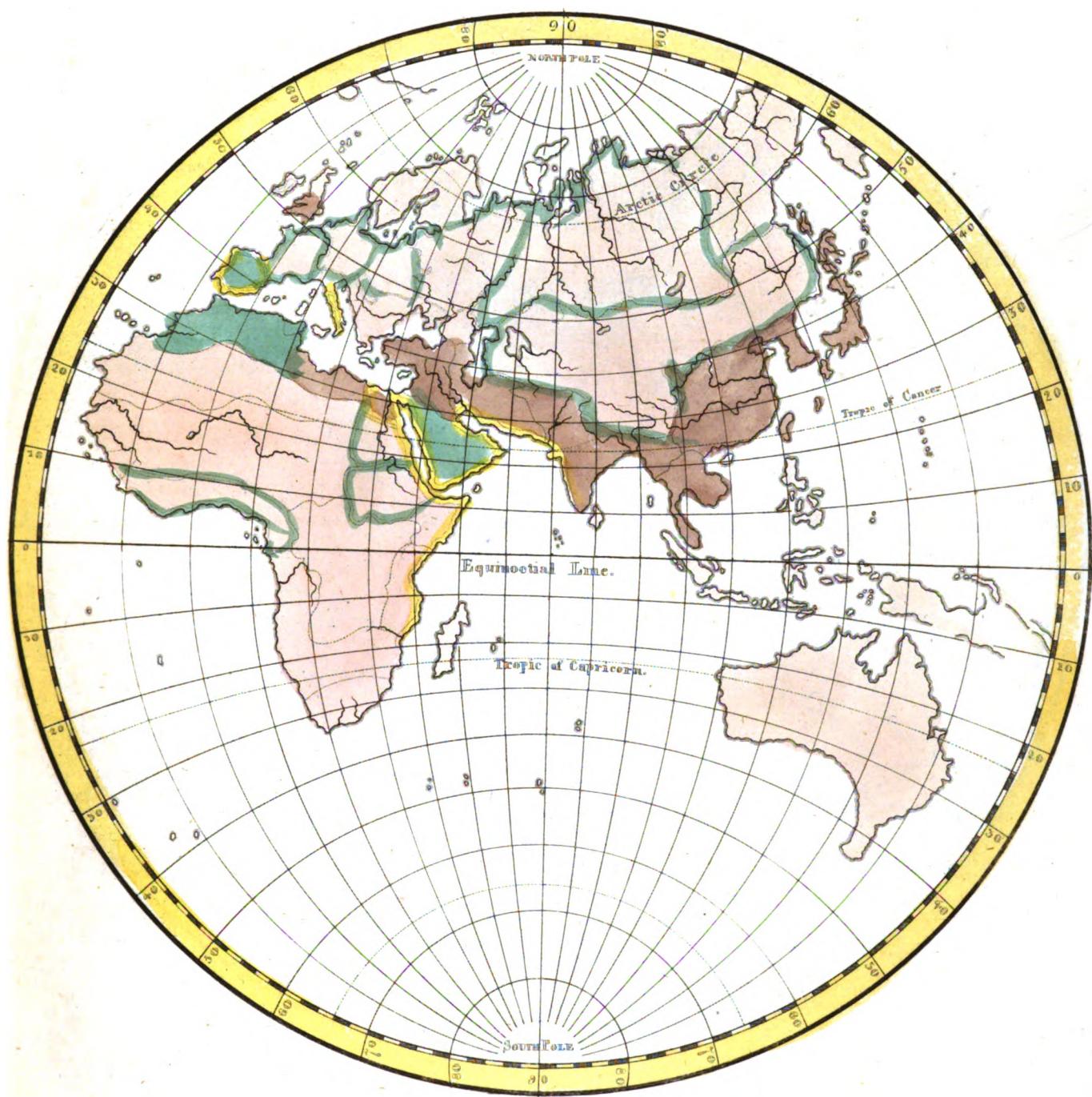
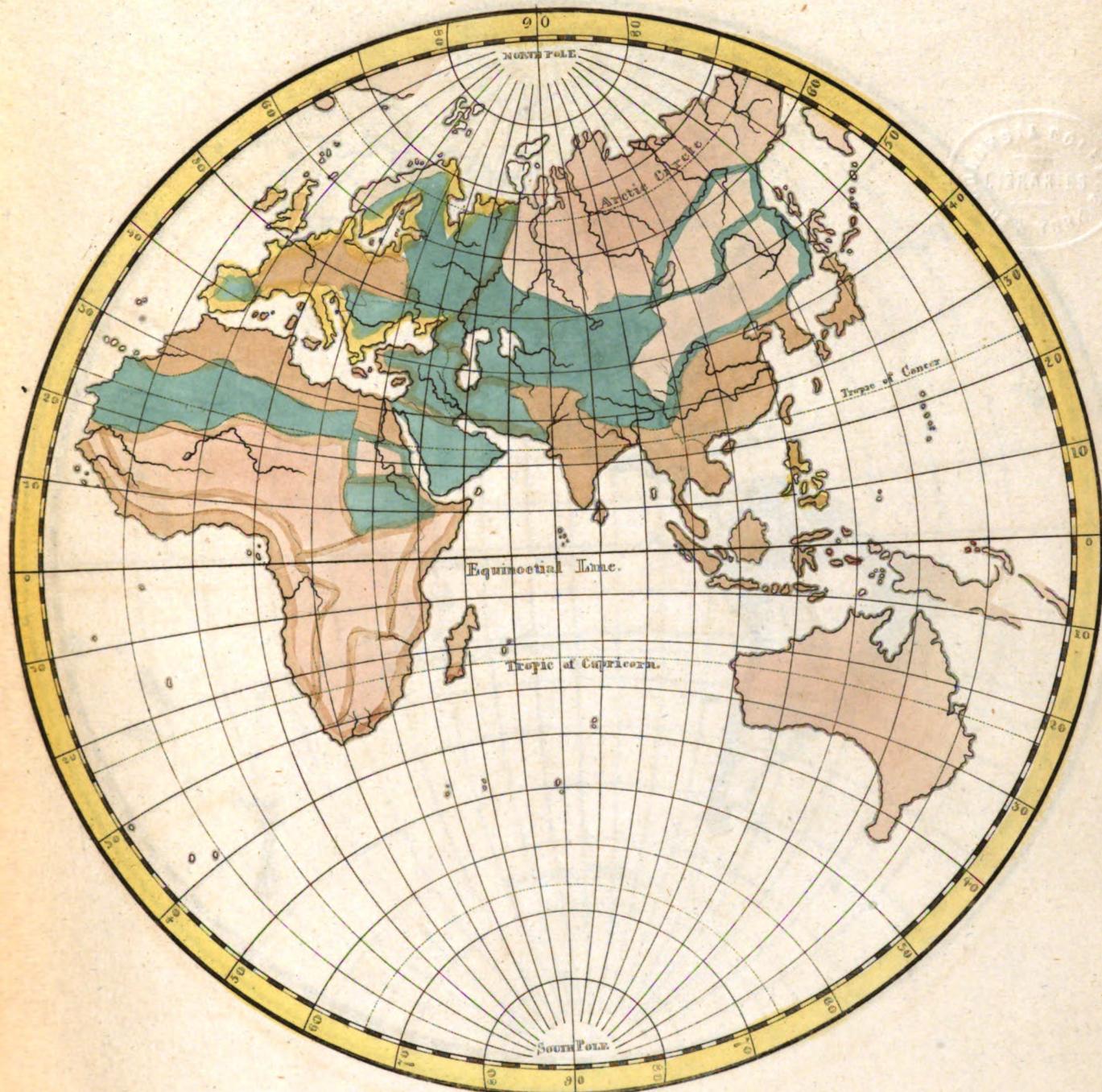


Fig. 3



N^o 4



N^o 5



N^o 6

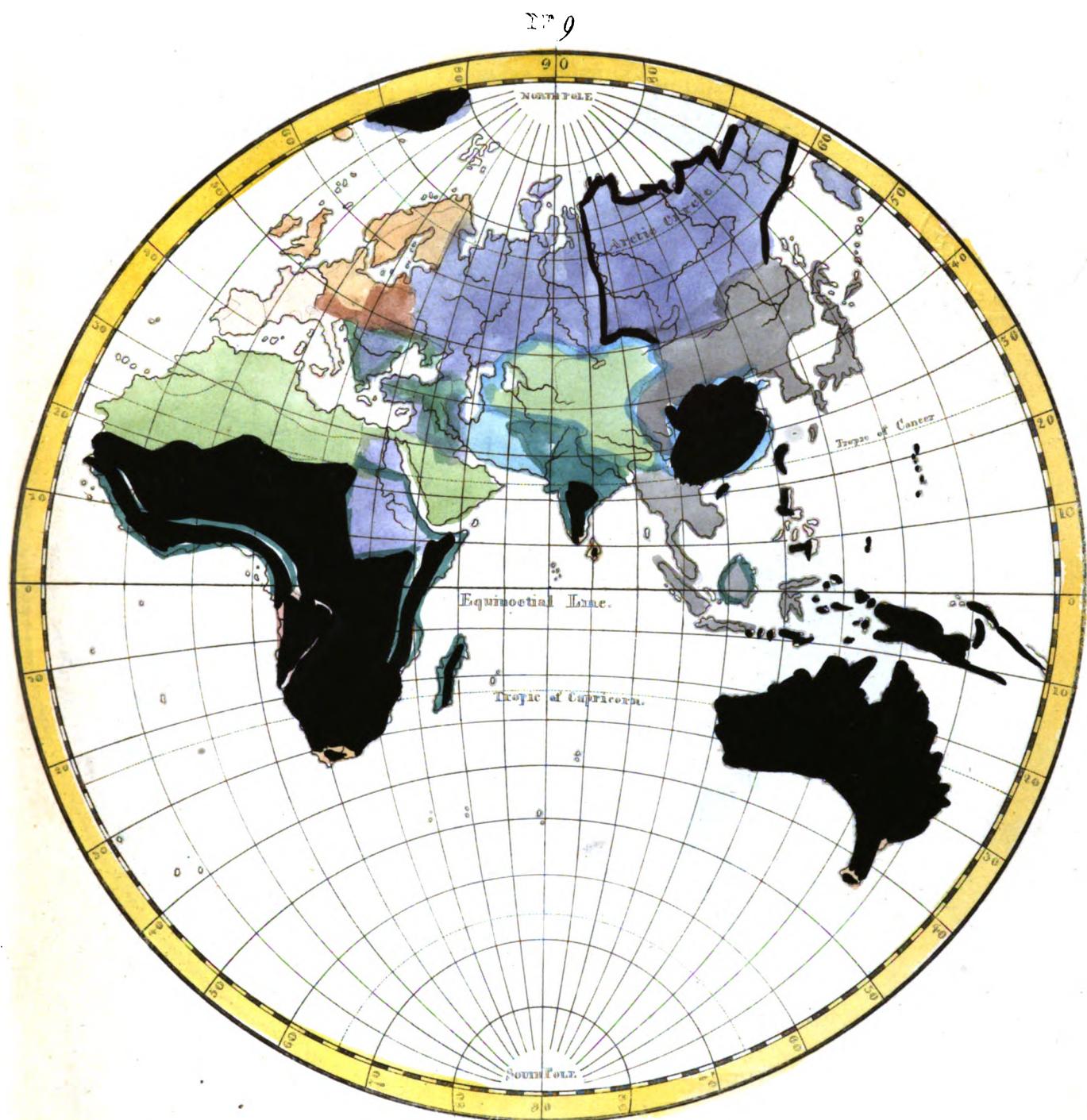


N^o 7



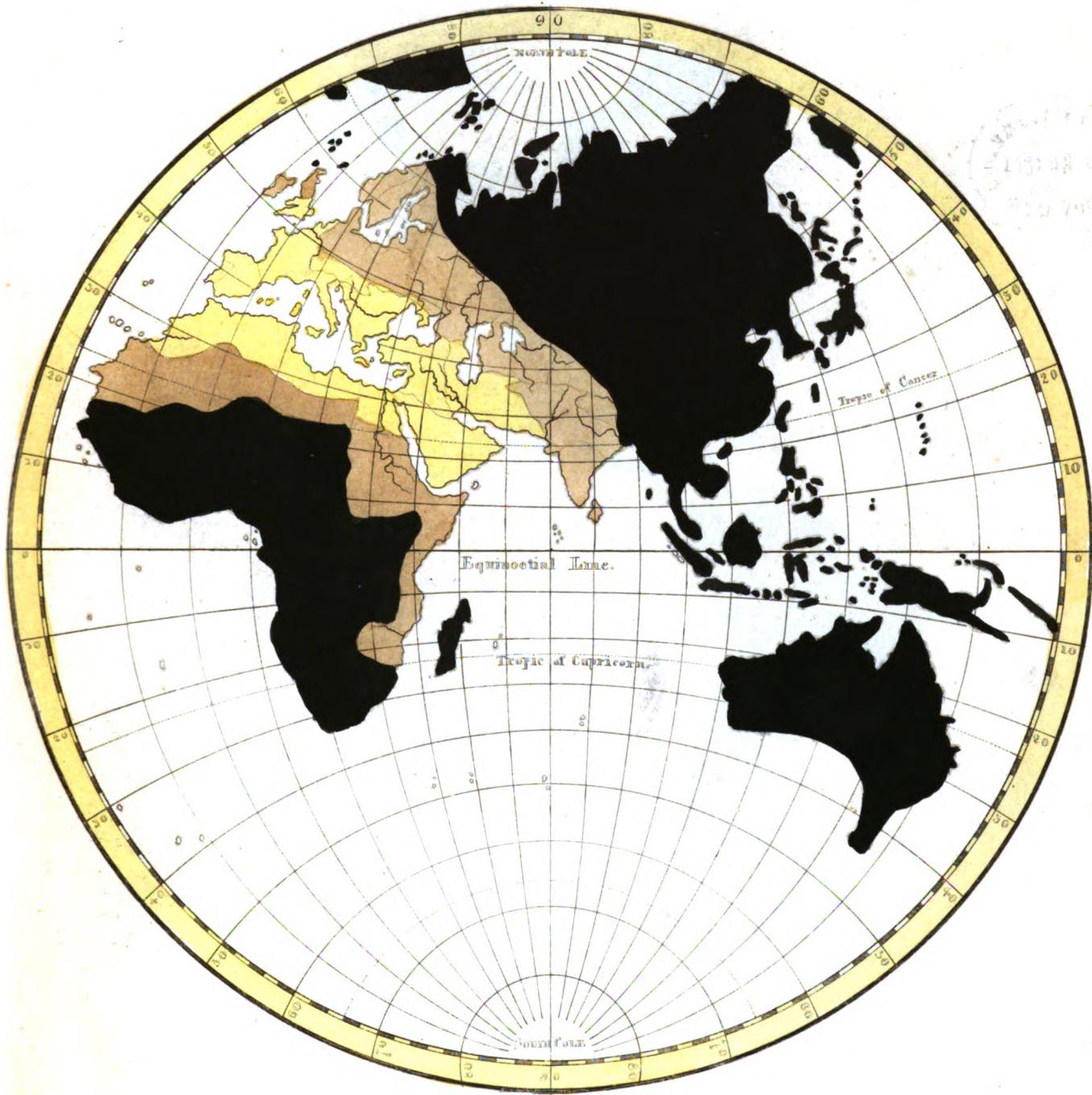
N^o 8.







N^o 11.



N 12



Philosophy of History.

LECTURE I.

Definition of Terms—Principles of Historical Belief—Application of those principles to the Pentateuch—The early History of the World as delivered by Moses—Enumeration of the Families into which the Human Race is divided—Causes of the diversified condition of the Human Species—Enquiry into the Effects of Climate, and other Local Circumstances on the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Character of Nations.

AS the course of lectures, which is now presented to the public, professedly treats of the *Philosophy of History*, there is, perhaps, no better method of commencing the series, than by explaining the import of that combination of terms.

History, as every one knows, is a word which admits of considerable latitude of signification. In its most extensive sense, it comprehends all that department of knowledge, which is simply declarative, and which rests its evidence, not on mathematical demonstration, physical experiment, or logical proof; but on the character of the vouchers, and the nature of the facts attested. It may thus be considered as furnishing the data of Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Optics, and many other sciences. Thus understood, it comprehends, perhaps, half the knowledge which the human mind is capable of receiving.

In these lectures, however, the term *history*, will be used, in a more limited sense, for that kind of declaratory knowledge, which instructs us concerning any of the events and transactions in which human nature has been concerned, as far as it is possible to procure such information, amidst the various revolutions, physical, intellectual, moral, or political, which have agitated the earth.

Philosophy is that science which teaches us to reason upwards from effects to their causes ; or, when the latter are known, downwards, from causes to their effects. On all subjects, true philosophy is not the play of the imagination, but the patient labour of the understanding, collecting, comparing, and classifying facts, till it is at length able to trace the connection between causes and effects ; and by this means to form the whole, or at least part of a system.

The *philosophy*, therefore, of *history*, denotes such an application of legitimate reasoning to the affairs of men, as may develope, in many instances, the great principles by which human nature is governed ; and so teaches practically, what line of conduct should be pursued, in order to combine our own happiness with that of our fellow-creatures.

As the longest human life is too short, and the widest human prospect too narrow, to enable any individual to accumulate, from his own observation, facts sufficient to bear any tolerable proportion to the extent of historical knowledge ; it is highly important, on the present occasion, to consider the natural process of the mind, in receiving or rejecting the testimony of others. In the opinion of some philosophers, experience is, in all cases, antecedent to belief ; and they assume, that we have no right, as rational creatures, to believe any thing to which we cannot trace some kind of analogy within the circle of our own observation. But if we study human nature, where much of it is to be learned, that is, in the nursery, we shall find, that infants are naturally credulous. Whether it be true or not, (as Dr. Reid has asserted,) that truth lies at the door of the lips, and is spoken by the greatest liar, with the exception of one instance in a thousand ; it is at least certain, that every child considers all it hears as truth, until it has been deceived by those, in whom it has confided. The mind then would pass to the opposite extreme, and discredit every thing ; but it soon discovers that a system of universal scepticism is as impracticable as one of universal credence. It therefore naturally asks three questions before it receives or rejects any report which appears highly important : 1st, Who is the author of the report ? 2nd, Is he competent to inform us on the subject of his communication ? 3rd, Is he placed in those circumstances, or does he possess those moral habits, that give us a warrant to believe, that he declares the truth to the best of his knowledge ? These questions, proposed and answered judiciously, form the basis of the important parts of historical criticism. We shall not, however, be under the necessity of frequently adopting this method ; as by far the greatest part of our reasonings rests, not on single transactions, but on large

bodies of facts, and are therefore but slightly dependent on the credibility of any single historian. There exists, however, one collection of books, so important to our present purpose, that we should be strangely deficient, if we were not to apply to them the enquiries which have now been suggested.

This collection of books is the PENTATEUCH, or those writings of Moses which form the first five books in the sacred volume. Without entering into any questions relative to their theological tenets, it will be evident to every impartial observer, that they are written in a style, which appears more to suit the sobriety of history, than either the fabulous records of the Greeks and Egyptians, the earlier parts of Chinese history, the Hindoo fictions, or any other antient documents, which pretend to transmit information of the origin and earliest transactions of any portion of the human species. Either, therefore, the Pentateuch is authentic, or the infancy of human nature is not possessed of any authentic history. To the Pentateuch, therefore, we shall apply the proposed questions in their natural order.

Quest. 1st. Who is the author of the Pentateuch? If we turn to the succeeding books of the Old Testament—if we appeal to the inspired writers of the New Testament—if we produce as collateral witnesses, the authors of the Apocrypha, Jewish rabbis, Pagan historians, poets, and philosophers, and Christian writers of every description,—we must meet with but one uniform answer, which ascribes the Pentateuch to Moses. To counterbalance this immense weight of authority, we have nothing to place in the opposite scale. If, however, such universal uncontested testimony could need confirmation, it may be derived in a considerable degree from the following considerations. It is a fact sufficiently well known, that all languages, while they continue to be spoken or currently written, are in a state of flux, admitting new forms of expression; while some that are more antient, are permitted to become obsolete. On this principle, an English book of the reign of Charles II. may be easily distinguished from one of the present age; and the remark has additional strength, as you apply it to the times of Elizabeth, or Henry VIII.; of Chaucer, or Wickliffe. Similar variations have been discovered by eminent Hebrew scholars in the books of the Old Testament, and evident marks of superior antiquity belong to the Pentateuch.

Quest. 2nd. Was Moses possessed of the requisite information? As these lectures are not intended to be theological, we shall leave untouched the sub-

ject of divine inspiration, and only advert to a few circumstances connected with the history of Moses. 1. Exodus, and the succeeding books of the Pentateuch, relate to transactions and events with which Moses had a most intimate connection. 2. Egypt was esteemed the birth-place of History, the country to which such Greeks were accustomed to repair, as were anxious to inform themselves of the early condition of mankind. Now Moses resided many years in Egypt, and possessed a very ample share of its learning. 3. No Pagan historian has any rational pretensions to an antiquity equally remote with that of the Hebrew legislator. Moses, therefore, of all writers whose works are extant, appears to have the strongest claim to a competency of information as to the early history of mankind.

Quest. 3rd. Was Moses possessed of those moral qualities, or was he placed in those circumstances, which give us reason to believe that he delivered the truth to the best of his knowledge? To this question, it may be replied, that Moses has given a very strong pledge to his credibility, by acknowledging and recording his offence against God in speaking unadvisedly with his lips; on which account he was prohibited from entering the Holy Land. Other ground may, however, be taken. Suppose, while this respectable company is assembled, some event were to occur of sufficient importance to be preserved in memory. One only of our number might record the circumstance; but if all, on reading the narrative, declared it to be authentic, handed it as such to their neighbours, and transmitted it to their children, we should thus all become witnesses of the fact, though only one had committed it to writing. The Jews are, it is well known, as national a people as any upon earth; and it is equally true, that the Pentateuch relates many facts highly prejudicial to the character of their ancestors; yet have the Jews received the Pentateuch as sacred, guarded it with the most jealous caution, and committed it to the religious veneration of their posterity. Here, then, is a whole nation consisting, at its lowest ebb, of several hundred thousand persons, a whole nation of witnesses contributing their testimony, whether reluctantly or voluntarily, in favour of all the facts contained in the Pentateuch. [Note A.]

On the whole, we possess every evidence, which distance of time allows us to expect, that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch; that he was competent to give the requisite information; and that there is every reason to believe that he has done this in sincerity.

According to the narrative contained in the eleven earlier chapters of Genesis, the world was originally peopled by one human pair; and again, after the deluge, re-peopled by a very few individuals derived from the former. All nations were then primarily one; they had but one language; and, previously to their dispersion, had made very considerable progress in many of the useful, and some of the ornamental, arts. These primeval inhabitants of the world were acquainted with agricultural and pastoral occupations; the construction of habitations, fixed and moveable; the formation of at least, one great vessel, capable of floating on the face of the deep; the manufacture of brass and iron; the invention of musical instruments; and even of the sublime art of poetry, as appears from an early specimen contained in the speech of Lamech to his wives. From the preceding statement, it appears, on the one hand, that the testimony of Moses is too important to be lightly rejected; and on the other, that his antient world differs in a variety of instances from the present condition of mankind. The population of Moses was uniform, without the distinction of nations and languages; whereas it is now evident, that the human race is divided among numerous nations, dissimilar in language, colour, stature, intellectual cultivation, forms of government, morals, religion; in fact, every thing in which human beings can differ from each other.

Here it may be proper to enquire, Can any causes be assigned, extensive enough in their operations, to account for such important changes? and we presume to mention five classes of causes to be discussed in the course of the present lectures.

1. Local or physical causes. (These will form the subject of the present lecture.)
2. The diversified employments of mankind. (Lecture 2.)
3. War, and those various revolutions which have been effected by its means. (Lectures 3 and 4.)
4. Religion. (Lecture 5.)
5. Three remarkable inventions, which have had a powerful tendency to change the character of nations. (Lecture 6.)

Class 1. Physical causes. By physical causes are generally understood, natural agents, as light, heat, any particular species of food, &c. These have been supposed to produce effects on the colour, form, and stature of mankind; as well as on their intellectual, moral, and even their political character. We

shall now endeavour to investigate how far such effects may be certainly traced to such causes; and for this purpose, shall briefly enumerate the principal families which inhabit the earth, and notice the most remarkable characteristics by which they are distinguished.

The inhabitants of Europe may, with some degree of propriety, be considered as belonging to ten different classes.

1. *The English or German family.* These are to be found in their most unmixed state, in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, England, (with the exception of Devonshire, Cornwall, and Cumberland,) in the South and East of Scotland, in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster, in Ireland. In a mixed state, they may be found in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy; and in a colonial state, in all the British, French, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese settlements, as well as in the territories of the United States. This portion of the human race has been ever characterized by athletic form, light hair, fair complexion, and blue eyes. It will be evident to every one, who considers the different nations, of which they now form the predominant part, that in England, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, they exhibit a considerable variety of national character; and whoever reads their history, must perceive, that though once barbarians, distinguished for nothing but military valour, they are now pre-eminent over the rest of mankind for their proficiency in every thing which can advance the dignity of human nature. They may indeed be denominated, without violating the sobriety of historic truth, "*The lords of human kind.*"

[Note B.]

2. *The Southern Celtic, or Welsh family.* This class is distinguished from that of the Northern Celts, by a great diversity of language; and indeed seems to have been united with them in no period of authentic history. Without, therefore, urging an antiquarian discussion, we shall, for the sake of convenience, consider them as two distinct families. The Southern Celts are to be found in their purest state, throughout the principality of Wales, and in the province of Bretagne in France and Biscay. In Cornwall, Devonshire, and Cumberland, they have also left deep traces of their history. In a mixed state, they are to be found in England and France; and, in a colonial state, in the different British settlements. The stature of the Southern Celts was generally not so tall as that of the German family, their complexion darker, their hair inclined to black, and

their eyes to brown. In former ages, they were the terror of all surrounding nations ; but for a long time they have acted rather a secondary part among European nations ; and their manners have gradually become amalgamated with those of civilized men in general. [Note C.]

3. *The Northern Celtic or Erse family.* These are to be found in their purest condition in the North and West of Scotland, in the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, the Irish provinces of Connaught and Munster, some parts of Spain ; and, it has been asserted, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea. In a mixed state, they have diffused themselves over Scotland and Ireland, and are of course to be met with in every British settlement, as well as in the United States of America. They are somewhat taller than the Southern Celts. In Scotland they have the elevated cheek-bone ; and different clans of the Highlands, though of dark complexion, have some red, and others, black hair. The ferocity of character which formerly distinguished the Highlanders, and which grew out of their feudal customs and political prejudices, has long since passed away ; and they have become a peaceable, intelligent, and valuable portion of the British empire. [Note D.]

4. *The Roman family.* This general epithet is intended to designate that colony of outcasts by whom the foundations of antient Rome are said to have been laid ; and also those conquered tribes, which subsequently swelled the armies of Rome, during her regal, republican, and imperial forms of government. It is, no doubt, incorrect to consider the Romans as one family ; but they became so by early amalgamation ; and it would now be difficult, if not impossible, to trace them to the various Italian, German, or Asiatic stems, from which they were primarily derived. These were of a darker complexion than the German family ; but not so generally as to prevent their admiration of blue eyes and red hair, as exquisitely beautiful. At one period of their history, they were distinguished chiefly by their valour, temperance, and patriotism ; afterwards, by their learning, refinement, and luxury : but in the present day, their character is exhibited in a very diversified form by their descendants, inhabiting the coasts of the Mediterranean. From being the most powerful race on earth, they have long since ceased to have a preponderating influence in any part of the globe, having been obliged to yield the precedence to the German family. [Note E.]

5. *The Grecian family.* This, like the former, must be used as a collective name

for an association of tribes of various and uncertain origin ; who, under the common epithet of Greeks, have secured not only the regard of their contemporaries, but the veneration of succeeding ages. Their hair and eyes are not so light as the German family ; but their figure is considered as making the nearest approach to the perfection of human beauty. Their intellectual, political, and military history, may assist in illustrating the changes to which nations are subject. This race is, of course, to be met with in its purest state, in Greece ; but it is also scattered throughout Turkey in Europe, and less numerously through several of the Italian states, and the bordered districts both of Asia and Africa. [Note F.]

6. *The Slavonian, or Sarmatian family.* These are diffused over a large portion of Europe and Asia ; and are to be met with in some districts of Northern Germany, in Bohemia, Poland, the Danubian provinces, Russia, and large tracts of Siberia. In early ages, this division of the human race was addicted to pastoral occupations ; and seems to have occupied a sort of middle station between the Germans and the Tartars. The tribes of which it is composed, are generally lower in civilization than those of the German family ; but are in the present day making considerable advances toward a state of refinement, especially throughout the vast Russian empire. Their complexion is commonly dark ; but it is remarkable, that the northern inhabitants of Russia are as fair as the Germans or Danes. [Note G.]

7. *The Turkish family.* These are likewise inhabitants both of Europe and Asia, being found in great numbers in the Turkish empire, and throughout the greater part of Independent Tartary ; and, in a smaller proportion, they are found in every country, where the Mahomedan religion has been established. From ages immemorial, the Turks have been known as a pastoral people ; their manners, in early times, are said to have been extremely ferocious. The governments they have established have been very arbitrary, and consequently they have never prosecuted literature or the arts with much success. [Note H.]

8. *The Monguls, Calmucs, or Tartars.* The people belonging to this widely extended race, have no pretensions to beauty ; they have dark countenances, varying in different countries from olive to copper ; short noses, and cheek-bones projecting outwards. Perhaps no portion of the human family has diffused itself over a greater part of the globe. In Europe, they are to be found in Hungary and Little Tartary ; in Asia, in the vast tracts of country, which are denominated

Tartary, in Thibet, Siberia, and in the polished empires of China and Japan, whose population is unquestionably derived from Mongul ancestry. Some remarkable particulars of this race will be mentioned hereafter.

9. The most Northern positions of Europe, Asia, and America, are occupied by a sallow diminutive race, called by various appellations, *Laplanders*, *Samoids*, *Esquimaux*, *Shellings*, and *Greenlanders*. In whatever quarter of the globe these tribes exist, they are found to be a race feeble in body and mind; incapable of military achievements, and therefore ever disposed to yield to ambitious adventurers and tyrants, who have trampled on their liberties. [Note I.]

10. The last race we shall mention, as occupying any part of Europe, are the *Jews*; a people most certainly of Asiatic origin, but whose sepulchres are found in almost every part of the world. Wherever they are met with, they are distinguished by strongly marked countenances, and national peculiarities, which have been perpetuated from age to age. This singular people are too well known to need any particular description.

ASIA.—Asia is a most extensive quarter of the world, whether we regard its numerous islands, or that vast portion of the great Eastern continent, which lies within its limits. Yet it will be dismissed with few words, because several of the most important classes of its inhabitants have been already noticed; and it is impossible to feel the same lively interest in the population of every obscure Asiatic island, as in those of our European neighbours.

1. The whole of Northern Asia is subject to the Russian government; and, in a free use of terms, denominated Siberia. Some of the inhabitants of this vast tract, are, Sclavonians, Turks, Monguls, and Samoids, each of whom has been already noticed; the rest consist of various swarthy tribes, all of which are low in civilization, and too inconsiderable to be distinctly described in this lecture.

2. Eastern Asia, including China and Japan, has been already stated to have derived its inhabitants from Mongul origin.

3. In the further peninsula of India, we meet with the copper-coloured Malay, bold, enterprizing, and indefatigable; engaging the notice, without deserving the affection, of the numerous foreigners who visit his shores. The

Malays have contributed to the population of many of the Eastern islands.
[Note K.]

4. The Indian islands seem to have been peopled by many different tribes. The aboriginal inhabitants are generally fairer than the more recent settlers; but they are also low in civilization, and addicted to the most barbarous practices, particularly the Battas in the island of Sumatra. [Note L.]

5. At New Guinea, commence the Papaws, or Eastern Negroes, so called from their striking resemblance to the African Negro. These have diffused themselves, and some portion of their language, over most of the islands of the Southern ocean.

6. In the nearer India are found the Hindoos, a people nearly as black as the African Negroes, but clearly distinguished from them by their diminutive form, and soft feminine countenances.

7. The Turks, who are diffused over the greater part of Western Asia; the Greeks, who have established themselves in various provinces of Asiatic Turkey; and the Jews, who are numerous in several of these countries, have been already mentioned. There remains, however, one race, numerous and important, who at one time attracted the attention both of the Eastern and Western world. These are the *Arabians*, the natives of that peninsula, whence they derive their name, but who are more or less diffused through all the Mahomedan countries. The Arabs of the desert are of a swarthy complexion, with dark hair and eyes; not burdened with an ounce of superfluous flesh; active, hardy, and resolute; fond of the alarms of war, but seldom acting together on any principle of a regular combination. Their military, political, literary, and religious character, future lectures will develop; it may therefore suffice at present to observe, that like their own camels, they can endure hunger and thirst, in a degree unknown to the inhabitants of more fertile regions.

AFRICA.—This quarter of the world is remarkable for having been partially known from the most remote antiquity, and yet never strictly explored, or its interior discovered by any polished nation in the world. Its various population, as far as it is known to Europeans, will admit of the following classification.

1. The Arabs, who are to be found in considerable numbers in Nubia, Barbary,

and some other parts of the African peninsula. These have adopted the manners, speak the language, and cultivate the religion of their Asiatic countrymen, whom they resemble generally in moral and physical qualities.

2. The Moors.—These, both from their colour, and modes of life, would seem to occupy a middle place between the Arabians and the Negroes. They are, for the most part, migratory, and are accustomed to subsist by commerce or plunder. They have hitherto presented the most serious obstacle to the designs of Europeans, who have sought to penetrate and describe the African continent.

3. The Negroes.—The deep black colour and prominent cheek-bones of this race, are sufficiently well known. In Negroland, they subsist in a state of independence, under governments of their own, which are corrupted by the refuse of European society, accustomed to visit their shores for the odious and inhuman purpose of purchasing slaves. They have been transported in vast numbers to the islands and continent of America. In St. Domingo they have established two independent governments, under whose auspices the African character appears to be so rapidly developing itself, that it will not ultimately fear competition with the most civilized nations of Europe. [Note M.]

4. In the South of Africa, is found a yellow, tawny race, to whom the Hottentots, Caffres, Coraunas, and various other tribes belong. These are of diminutive stature, and have never attained to any considerable eminence in the arts either of peace or war. Some peculiarities have been noticed in their physical conformation, which are not fit subjects for discussion in a public lecture.

5. In the interior of Africa, we have been told of a race called *Gallas*, *Imbas*, or *Jaggas*, who have been described as ferocious cannibals ; but of a complexion nearly resembling that of the inhabitants of Southern Europe. Of this people, our accounts are so obscure, that we cannot safely adopt them as the basis of reasoning.

6. The *Abyssinians* are of a deep olive colour, with high noses, and bearing no resemblance to the Negro physiognomy.

7. The *Cophts*, or native Egyptians, have countenances much resembling the Negro character, but are only of a tawny hue.

AMERICA.—America is inhabited by several human families, which have been already described, viz. the European colonists, the Negroes, the Esquimaux, and the Greenlanders. On these, therefore, it is unnecessary to remark.

The aboriginal, and most widely-spread native population of America, consists of numerous tribes of savages, differing widely from each other in many moral particulars; but distinguished from the rest of mankind by their complexion, which is said to be of the colour of iron-rust, mingled with oil. It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain, whether this colour prevails without difference of shade: some have asserted that the colour is uniform; others, that it is deepest in mountainous tracts and in high latitudes.

The only other class of men, which remains to be noticed, are the natives of the North Western shores of America; a large portion of whom are said to be of European whiteness, and are supposed to be derived from the same stock as the Aytecas, from whom the governments of Mexico and Peru descended.

This rapid survey of the various divisions of the human race has been sufficiently circumstantial, to exhibit an astonishing diversity of physical, mental, and moral qualities. For this diversity, philosophers have endeavoured to account in various ways; but their most remarkable hypothesis have had a primary reference to the subject of colour. Three only of these deserve any serious attention.

I. According to the hypothesis of some pretended philosophers, the human family was not originally one; but a number of different individuals, varying in colour and conformation, were created or rose into existence, in some of those countries which they were destined afterwards to inhabit.

The advocates for this opinion would express themselves in terms something like the following. “Is it not utterly incredible that the woolly-headed Negro, the disgusting Esquimaux, the fair Circassian, the towering Patagonian, the diminutive Greenlander, the timid Hindoo, and the adventurous Malay, should all be derived from the same source? The difference between them affects not only the colour, but the conformation of the human skeleton itself, and as some of these races resemble the brutes in the elongation of the countenance, so do they also in the acuteness of the sensitive, and the deficiency of the rational, faculties.”

To part of this statement we shall immediately reply, reserving the remainder of our answer to a more proper place.

1. It is universally admitted that the different species of the dog are all derived from the shepherd-dog, and those of domestic pigeons from the common blue pigeon; yet, if we compare the difference of colour, size, and conformation between those varieties just alluded to, with the most marked variations to be observed among men, how inconsiderable do the latter appear! Who can enumerate all the various shades of colours, and diversities of figure, by which these animals are distinguished? whereas, those of the human species must, almost in all cases, be reduced to black and white, brown and red, and a few other intervening shades. As to magnitude, compare the proportion between the Irish wolf dog, and the Pomeranian lap dog; and recollect, on the other side, that the medium height of the Patagonians is about five feet ten inches, or six feet at most; while that of the Greenlanders, the most diminutive of mankind, is fixed at about four feet ten inches. [Note N.]

2. If we are to assign more than one origin to the human species, it becomes impossible to fix upon any precise number, as various intermediate links may be easily discovered between the great divisions of the human family; thus the Copt has much of the Negro physiognomy without his native hue, and the Abyssinian resembles the latter in colour, but is wholly unlike him in physiognomy.

3. The Hungarians are admitted to be of Mongul origin; they have introduced and preserved in Europe a language evidently of the oriental cast; yet, in the lapse of ages, they have dropped every peculiarity of the Mongul complexion, and conformation of countenance; and strikingly resemble the different Sarmatian tribes, by whom they are surrounded.

II. The second hypothesis ascribes the principal variations of mankind to the influence of climate.

According to the friends of this system, temperate regions produce the fairest inhabitants, who grow darker, as they approach either the equator or the poles. The natives of cold climates are hardy, strong, and persevering; capable of excelling the rest of mankind in the arts of war or of peace; while those who have the unhappiness to be born under a vertical sun, are doomed to perpetual

imbecility of understanding, and are scarcely able to preserve an independent existence, in the midst of their turbulent and more powerful neighbours. Here, as in the former instance, we shall partly give, and partly reserve, our reply.

1. Whoever inspects a map of the world, coloured like those which attend this lecture, (see Nos. 1 and 2,) according to the various tints of its inhabitants, will perceive at a glance, that the complexions of men do not vary according to their latitudes.

2. In many small islands of the Pacific ocean, is to be found almost every variety of colour, from the swarthy Negro to the fair complexion of the natives of Britain or Denmark; yet here is no room for climate to perform its miracles.

3. Among the African Negroes there are three principal varieties, the Mandingo, the Jaloff, and the Foulat; the first, the perfect Negro in colour and form; the second, deep black, with an European countenance; the third has a Negro physiognomy, with a countenance only swarthy. Yet all these reside within a very narrow compass, and all are exposed to the direct influence of a vertical sun.

4. The Portuguese and black Jews of India, are brought forward as evidences to prove the effect of climate. But another solution of this difficulty obviously presents itself. It is well known that immediately after the Portuguese settled in the East Indies, an illicit intercourse took place between the European traders and the native women. Their progeny were of course of a deep swarthy colour, but belonging to no Indian cast, and proud of their mixture of European blood, called themselves Portuguese. They either intermarried, or married such natives as were indifferent to cast; and thus, with a complexion increasing in resemblance to that of the natives, retain to the present day, the name of their European progenitors. On the contrary, when the Portuguese in the circumnavigation of Africa, discovered the uninhabited island of St. Thomas, and determined to settle there, having no natives with whom to intermarry, they still retained the genuine Portuguese complexion. There are, indeed, black Jews in India; but these have been loose observers of their law, and have therefore not abstained from native marriages; whereas, the white Jews of the same country, who have acted on stricter moral principles, retain the same colour, as in more temperate climates. [Note O.]

III. The third hypothesis ascribes every thing to the effects of civilization.

According to this system, Adam and Eve were Negroes, whose posterity, in different parts of the world, have arrived at superior degrees of refinement ; and as its physical consequence, fairness of complexion. But a vast number of facts may be instantly alleged against such a statement. Our German ancestors, in their rudest state, were much fairer than the refined Romans, by whom they were subdued ; and the Europeans in general, than the Egyptians and Hindoos, who were venerated as the parents of science. The Battas, and some other most sanguinary tribes in the Indian islands, are fairer than their neighbours, who have advanced much higher in mental culture.

Having thus disposed of the three principal hypothesis, by which some have attempted to account for the diversified appearances of mankind, it will naturally be asked, " What can you substitute in their place ? " The following remarks may furnish a brief reply, though not a solution of the difficulty.

I. All true philosophy demands a basis of fact on which to found its reasonings ; and, unless sufficient facts are accumulated, the consequent reasoning cannot be properly conducted. Now three causes concur to prevent the possibility of our possessing competent information on the subjects of the present enquiry.

1. Colours are expressed by the most vague terms, and scarcely any of them correctly. The sable of the African tribes, when viewed in a strong light, will not be found to equal the blackness of many other natural substances ; nor is the whiteness of the European, to be compared with that of alabaster, silver, or snow. The terms tawny, swarthy, and many others, are frequently used with but little precision and accuracy ; so that we can scarcely tell what tint between black and white is the subject of allusion. These evils cannot be remedied, unless certain well known substances were selected, as furnishing standards by which to determine accurately the different colours of mankind.

2. Our information respecting distant lands is for the most part derived from casual travellers, who were in pursuit of widely different objects from those of natural history ; or from philosophers, who had their favorite hypothesis to defend.

3. The changes of colour and of form, which may be supposed to have taken place in different individuals of the human race, have in all probability been so gradual, as to be imperceptible to the subjects themselves, and therefore were not likely to be recorded. For all these reasons we have a deficiency of fact, which must endanger the soundness of our conclusions.

II. We perceive two laws operating through the whole of organized nature; the first a disposition towards endless variety; and the second a tendency to transmit those variations to succeeding ages, and extend them to different places. These two laws may be considered as laying, in a great measure, a basis for the practical knowledge and diversified experiments of the gardener, the florist, the agriculturalist, and the breeder of cattle. When animals are in a state of nature, there being no predilection for beauty to govern them, the variation commonly perishes with the individual; but if man is concerned, he selects and nurtures with the utmost care, such as agree best with his fancy or his interest. On similar principles we shall not be surprised at the diversified condition of mankind; but while we wonder that the variety is no greater, we must ascribe this circumstance to the goodness of that benevolent Being, who designs that man should occupy every habitable country, and has therefore given him a constitution, more proof against the effects of climate, than that of inferior animals.

III. It is impossible to determine all the laws by which nature is governed, in producing the variations in question. Many of them lie probably too deep for the human intellect ever to discover them. Yet it is probable, that both climate and cultivation have their share, though a very limited one, in producing the variations which have been alluded to in this lecture. Complexions, generally, though not always, increase in swarthiness, as we approach the extremes of heat and cold. The inhabitants of hills in Sicily, in Arabia, in Africa, and probably through the whole of the old continent, are darker than those of the valleys which immediately surround them. Those of the same race, and inhabiting nearly the same climate, who are most highly cultivated, generally appear the fairest. Thus the inhabitants of the North of China, are lighter than the Tartars of the North, or than their own countrymen, in more Southern latitudes. The Africans, who are reared up in the United States, and are treated like European servants, are said to experience an abatement in the harshness of their countenances, and their hair becomes longer and less woolly.

It only remains to consider the supposed effects of climate on the intellectual

and moral characters of men. Those who mean to assert the efficacy of cold in producing, and of heat in destroying, animal courage, will do well to consider the extreme timidity of the Laplanders, who enlist in no armies, carry on no wars, and have been the easy prey of conquerors; a remark which will apply to the whole of that diminutive family which surrounds the North Pole. The Laplanders, who must enjoy the utmost benefit of cold, are some of the most enervated and effeminate of all human beings. Science has gone her rounds, and shed her favours in turn on the Hindoos, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, Romans, Arabians, the Icelanders, the Irish, the inhabitants of modern Europe, and of her more modern American settlements. Facts have also proved that the astonishing perfection of the senses, which usually distinguishes the savage tribes, is to be gradually acquired by Europeans placed in similar circumstances. The rod of empire too has passed through many hands. Nations of heroes have, in the course of ages, become settled cultivators of the arts of life; or even like the modern Italians, miserable poltroons, the outcasts of morbid civilization.

From the subjects which have been discussed in the present lecture, may be derived the following, we trust, legitimate conclusions.

1. If, as philosophers contend, no particle of matter is displaced without affecting the whole equipoise of the universe, nor can any race of animals, however insignificant, be extirpated without endangering the safety of the whole; how much more may it be inferred, if the human family be originally one, (which we have authority to prove, and which nothing in the investigation of this lecture authorizes us to deny,) that it is impossible to affect the knowledge, virtue, and happiness of any division of mankind, without affecting the knowledge, virtue, and happiness of the species generally.
2. Mankind being derived from one common stock, we have a right to conclude that human nature is every where radically the same; and therefore by placing ourselves in the circumstances of any of our fellow-creatures, we not only are disposed to judge with charity concerning them, but are able in many instances, to arrive at just conclusions respecting the conduct which others are likely to pursue.
3. Since it appears, thus far, that the differences of colour and formation which exist among human beings are in some degree adventitious, and uncon-

connected with mental or moral capacity, the philanthropist is unclogged in his exertions for the benefit of mankind, and has no natural barrier to confine his efforts, till the whole world shall be possessed of that happiness which is so congenial to the nature of man.

Notes

TO THE FIRST LECTURE.

[Note A.] THE following facts, recorded in the Pentateuch, may be considered as derogatory to the character of the antient Israelites. 1. They were slaves in the land of Egypt. 2. Their deliverance was in no case the effect of their own power or goodness. 3. They murmured against Moses and Aaron when the Egyptians refused them straw. 4. They murmured against Moses for exposing them to perish in the wilderness, when shut in by the Egyptians and the Red Sea. 5. They murmured on account of the bitter waters of Marah. 6. They murmured previously to the receiving quails and manna. They murmured previously to the water being brought out of the rock of Horeb. 7. They employed Aaron to make the golden calf. 8. They murmured at the report of the spies. 9. They attacked the Amalekites contrary to the command of Moses. 10. The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. 11. The murmuring which was punished by the fiery serpents. 12. Fornication and idolatry committed with the Moabites. These, and other facts, which might be selected from the writings of Moses, would necessarily be so offensive to the Jewish people, as to have induced them, if possible, to invalidate the testimony on which they rest. That no such attempts have been made; but, on the contrary, that their authenticity has been universally admitted by that nation, is an indirect, but no inconsiderable evidence, in their favour.

[Note B.] *Probable origin of the English or German family.*—No subject is more perplexed, or has given rise to a greater number of theories and speculations than that of the remote origin of nations. It is not proposed either in the lectures contained in this volume, or in the notes and illustrations appended to them, to enter far into this intricate enquiry, though it may be necessary sometimes briefly to advert to it. Macpherson, in an elaborate and critical enquiry into the origin of the antient British nations, which is well deserving the attention of all who would thoroughly investigate the subject, has endeavoured to trace three great migrations from the northern and eastern parts of Europe, which took place at different and far distant intervals; the earliest of which he denominates the Celtic, or antient Gaul; the second, the Sarmatian; and the last, the Belgic. To the second of these, he ascribes the origin of the German, Saxon, or English race, as will appear from the following extract. (Editor.)

“*The European Sarmatae.*—The successive migrations of the Barbarians of the North may be compared to the transient storms of a showery day. The sun scarce returns after one cloud is past, before another begins to gather in the same quarter of heaven. The short space between, is filled with that pleasing, but melancholy serenity, which attends joys whose period is approaching in view. The first eruption of the nations of the Northern Germany, happened, as we have already observed, more than three centuries before the commencement of our present æra. About two ages after, the Celtae beyond the Rhine threw another fleece of adventurers, under the name of Cimbri, into the regions of the South. A new people accompanied them in this expedition; who, in their designation of Teutoni, carried with them a proof of their Sarmatic origin.

“When the Celtae between the Elbe and the Gulf of Bothnia evacuated their territories, and poured into the Southern Europe, about forty-five years after the death of Alexander, the Sarmatae of Scandinavia crossed the Baltic, and settled between the Vistula and the Drave, under the general name of Goths and Vandals. The Celto Germans, who remained beyond the Elbe, on the shores of the ocean, and in the peninsula of Jutland, gave the name of Teutoni, or Northern men, to the Sarmatae; who, after having passed from Scandinavia, became their neighbours in Germany. Instead of contending about the possession of the bleak shores of the Baltic, the Cimbri and Teutoni, in close alliance with one another, endeavoured to procure for themselves better settlements in a more favourable climate and soil.

“The Teutoni were the first of the Scandinavian Sarmatae, who invaded the South. The calamities

which overwhelmed those adventurers in their expedition, discouraged their countrymen for more than two complete centuries from similar attempts. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, forgetting the misfortunes of their fathers, the Sarmatic Germans advanced into the regions of the South and East. A new bulwark against their invasion had started up in the power of the Romans. The military discipline of the legions stationed on the frontiers of Pannonia, frustrated all the efforts of the Barbarians, and obliged them to content themselves with the cold and sterile seats of their ancestors. But, though they were unsuccessful in many succeeding attempts, they never lost sight of the object, till the growing imbecility of the empire opened the South and West to their arms.

"The Celtæ beyond the Rhine were either dissipated in the dominions of Rome before the fall of the empire, or afterwards lost in the inundations of the Sarmatic Scandinavians; who, passing over Germany, overwhelmed the regions of the South and West, at the decline of the Roman power. The Goths and Vandals, who extended their conquests to Spain, Italy, and Africa, were in some measure lost in the countries which they subdued. The Northern nations, descended from the same stock, who trod on their heels when they moved into the provinces of the Roman empire, are the ancestors of the present Germans. The Franks, having confined their migrating expeditions to Gaul, have still preserved their Vandalic name in that country. The Saxons, settled in Britain, are the most unmixed of the posterity of the Sarmatae, who first settled on the Southern shore of the Baltic."—Macpherson's *Introd. to the Hist. of Gt. Britain*, p. 12—15.

[Note C.] *Southern Celtæ*.—The languages of the Southern Celtæ were three; the Welsh, Armorican, and Cornish. The first flourishes in considerable vigour; the second receives little or no cultivation in Bretagne, where it continues to be spoken; and the third has become extinct.

[Note D.] *Northern Celtæ*.—The Northern Celtæ have three principal languages; the Erse, the Irish, and the Manks; each of which is rendered permanent by translations of the scriptures.

[Note E.] *Roman family*.—According to the most learned antiquarians, the greater part of the Italians were derived from Greece; but the Etrurians came from Lydia; and the Ligures are by some derived from the Gauls. The same remark may be applied to the Umbri, a numerous and powerful tribe, settled originally at the foot of the Alps, but afterwards spreading themselves nearly over the whole of Italy, whose Gallic origin is attested by numerous ancient writers.

[Note F.] *Grecian family*.—The Greeks are asserted, by very respectable authorities, to have been originally derived from a rude and barbarous nation, called Pelasgi; who afterwards assumed other names, as they advanced in civilization. There were also native tribes, early discovered in Greece, called Hellenes, who were said to have descended from Hellen, the son of Ducaslion, and chiefly settled in the Southern and Western provinces. To these were added at subsequent periods, colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, Phrygia, and other Asiatic states.

[Note G.] *The Sclavonic, or Sarmatian tribes*.—The Sclavonic is considered next to the Arabic, the most extensive language in the world; it is spoken from the Adriatic to the North Sea; and from the Caspian to the Baltic, by a great variety of people, who are all the descendants of the ancient Sclavi, viz. the Poles, Muscovites, Bulgarians, Carinthians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Prussians, Swabians, &c. Each of these nations has its particular dialect; but it is not difficult to perceive, that Sclavonic is the common mother of them all.

[Note H.] *Wandering inhabitants of Turkey*.—Beside the settled inhabitants of Turkey, there are within that empire several migratory tribes; that from the strength of their positions, and habits of predatory warfare, have been enabled generally to refuse submission to the Ottoman government. Such are the *Turkmans*, *Curds*, *Ansarai*, *Druses*, and *Maronites*. Volney observes, that the language of the Turkmans is the same with that of the Turks; and their mode of life nearly similar to that of the Bedouin Arabs. All their property consists in cattle; that is, camels, buffaloes, goats, and especially sheep. They live on milk, butter, and meat, which are in great abundance among them, and the surplus of which they sell in the towns and the neighbouring country. These provisions they barter for arms, clothes, money, and corn. Their women spin wool, and make carpets; the use of which is immemorial in these countries, and consequently indicates their manner of living to have been always the same. As for the men, their whole occupation consists in smoking, and looking after their flocks. Perpetually on horseback, with their lances on their shoulders, their crooked sabres by their sides, and their pistols in their belts, they are expert horsemen, and indefatigable soldiers. They have frequent differences with the Turks, who dread them: but as they are divided among themselves, and form separate encampments, they do not assume that superiority which their combined forces would otherwise ensure to them. The pachalics of Aleppo and Damascus, which are the only parts of Syria they frequent, may be computed to contain about 30,000 wandering Turkmans. They have, however, the reputation of not being robbers, like the Arabs, though they are neither less generous, nor less hospitable than they. When it is considered that this people live in plenty, without being rich; that they are inured to war, and hardened by fatigue and danger, it may be presumed that they are equally

removed from the ignorance and servility of the peasants, and the corruption and selfishness of the inhabitants of the towns.

The *Curds*, who are divided into tribes, are dispersed over the Lower Asia, and have widely extended themselves, especially within the last hundred years. Like the Turkmans, they are wandering shepherds, and are under the frequent necessity of changing their position in search of pastures for their numerous flocks and herds. Whilst the men roam in quest of plunder, the women are occupied in making butter and cheese, and training up the children to the trade of the fathers. Their tents are large, and formed of a sort of coarse brown cloth, which serves as a covering to their houses, which are constructed for temporary use of cane hurdles, disposed in a square form, and having the floor matted, so as to answer the purposes both of bed and board. When they dislodge, for the purpose of migration, they take their huts to pieces, and load their oxen and cows with them; and also with their children and household utensils. The children are used to go almost naked in the coldest weather. The men are generally well mounted, and take great care of their horses, which are commonly very swift in their motion: the lance is their chief weapon. The women ride either on horses or oxen. Both men and women are naturally stout and nimble, but not agreeable in their persons, having very small eyes, wide mouths, bad complexions, very black hair, and a fierce and forbidding aspect.

The *Curds* differ from the Turkmans in some particular customs. The latter give their daughters a marriage portion; the former receive a premium for them. The Turkmans pay no respect to nobility or antiquity of extraction; the *Curds* highly honour both. The Turkmans do not steal; the *Curds* are almost every where considered as plunderers; and they are therefore much dreaded in the neighbourhood of Aleppo and Antioch, where they occupy, under the name of "Bagdashlia," the mountains to the East of Beilam, as far as near Kles. In this pachalic, and in that of Damascus, their number exceeds 20,000 tents and huts; for they have also fixed habitations. They are reputed Mahometans; but they never trouble themselves about religious rites or opinions.

Assemani, a celebrated oriental writer, gives the following account of the *Ansars*, or Ansars. "In the year of the Greeks, 1202, (A. D. 891,) there lived, at the village of Nafar, in the environs of Koufa, an old man, who, from his fastings, his continual prayers, and his poverty, passed for a saint: several of the common people declaring themselves his partisans, he selected from among them twelve disciples, to propagate his doctrine. But the magistrate of the place, alarmed at his proceedings, seized the old man and confined him in prison. In this reverse of fortune, his situation excited the pity of a girl who was slave to the gaoler, and she determined to give him his liberty. An opportunity soon offered to effect her design. One day, when the gaoler was gone to bed intoxicated, and in a profound sleep, she gently took the keys from under his pillow, and, after opening the door to the old man, returned them to their place unperceived by her master: the next day, when the gaoler went to visit his prisoner, he was extremely astonished to find that he had fled; and still greater was his surprise that he could perceive no marks of violence. He therefore judiciously concluded that his prisoner had been delivered by an angel, and eagerly spread the report, to avoid the reprobation he merited: the old man, at the same time, circulated the same tale among his disciples, and preached his doctrines with more earnestness than ever. This sectarian leader then passed into Syria, and propagated his opinions among the lower orders of the people; numbers of whom believed in him. And, after a few years, he suddenly disappeared, and no one ever knew what became of him." The *Ansars* are of several sects; some of whom descend to the grossest idolatry, worshipping even the meanest animals. They are more exposed to the oppressions of the Turks than either the Druses or the Maronites.

The *Druses*, who engaged the attention of Europe about the close of the 16th century, bear a striking resemblance to the Maronites in their mode of life, form of government, language, and customs; the principal difference between them consisting in their religion. Volney traces their origin to a dissension that took place about the commencement of the 11th century, between the followers of Mahomet; and particularly to the contempt manifested by the third caliph of Egypt, called Hakem-bamrillah, to the Mahometan religion. This caliph caused the first caliphs, the companions of Mahomet, to be cursed in the mosques, and afterwards revoked the anathema; he compelled the Jews and Christians to abjure their religion, and then permitted them to resume it; he burnt one half of the city of Cairo for his diversion, while his soldiers pillaged the other; and, not content with these extravagant acts, he forbade the pilgrimage to Mecca, fasting, and the five prayers; and at length carried his madness so far as to desire to pass for a god himself. This impious pretension was supported by a false prophet, who came from Persia into Egypt, and was called Mohammed-ben-Ismael. This Mohammed taught, that it was not necessary to fast or pray, to practise circumcision, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, or observe festivals: that the prohibition of pork and wine was absurd; and that marriage between brothers and sisters, fathers and children, was lawful. To ingratiate himself with Hakem, he maintained that this caliph was God himself incarnate. Both the impostor and the caliph were soon brought to an untimely death by the hands of violence. However, the death of these two chiefs did not prevent the progress of their opinions. A disciple of Mohammed-ben-Ismael, named Hamza-ben-Ahmud, propagated them with indefatigable zeal in Egypt, Palestine, and along the coast of Syria, as far as Sidon and Berytus. His proselytes underwent the same fate with that of the Maronites; for, being persecuted by the sect in power, they took refuge in the mountains of Lebanon; and here, being better able to defend themselves, they formed an independent society. Notwithstanding difference of

opinions, they find it their interest to allow mutual toleration; and they have united in their opposition, at different times, to the crusaders, the sultans of Aleppo, the Mamlouks, and the Ottoman governments.

The *Maronites* are a sect of Eastern Christians, who follow the rites of the Syrian church. Their principal habitation is on mount Libanus, between the Ansars to the North, and the Druses to the South. They have been engaged in frequent contests with the Turks, and in 1588 were subjected to an annual tribute, which they still pay. Since that period, the pachas, desirous of extending their authority and extortions, have frequently attempted to introduce their garrisons and agas into the mountains of the Maronites; but, being constantly repulsed, they have been compelled to abide by their treaties. The subjection of the Maronites, therefore, consists alone in the payment of a tribute to the pacha of Tripoli, of whom they hold their country, which he annually farms out to one or more sheiks, that is, persons of eminence and property, who levy their respective shares on the districts in which they reside. Their form of government is founded, not on any express convention, but merely on usages and customs. This could not have failed to produce anarchy and confusion, unless many fortunate circumstances had concurred to prevent it. The principal of these is religion, which, placing an insurmountable barrier between the Maronites and the Mahometans, has precluded ambitious men from leaguing themselves with foreigners to enslave their countrymen. Their second is, the nature of the country, which every where affording natural fortresses, enables every village, and almost every family, to oppose, by its single force, all usurpation of sovereign power. A third reason may be derived even from the weakness of this society, which having been always surrounded by powerful enemies, has only been able to resist them by maintaining union among its members, which union can only subsist by abstaining from mutual oppression, and by reciprocally guarding the safety of each other's person and property. Thus the government preserves a natural equilibrium; and, customs supplying the place of laws, the Maronites are, to this day, equally strangers to the oppressions of despotism, and the disorders of anarchy. Volney, Rees's Cyclopaedia, &c.

[Note I.] *Laplanders, Samoids, &c.*—“The first feature in the disposition of a Laplander, is supreme and unconquerable indolence. An abhorrence, indeed, of regular industry, is common to all savage tribes, with the single exception of those which compose the following stage. Almost every other, however, has some kind of violent and tumultuous exertion, in which they place their highest delight. But these, unless urged by the most pressing necessity, remain sunk in a state of perpetual torpor. Brandy only can rouse them for a moment; but, unless the stimulus be constantly repeated, they quickly relapse. Connected with this, is a helplessness, like that of a child, on all occasions which require any extraordinary exertions. They either sink in despair, or, in endeavouring to overcome them, exert only feeble and abortive efforts.

“The Laplanders are a timid and fearful people. This seems to be one symptom of that general debility which marks their character. There is nothing to inspire them with those strong passions which prompt men to set danger at defiance. Nothing is so much calculated to encourage a man, as the presence and sympathy of his fellows. Visions, and other superstitious impressions, take place uniformly in solitude, and are speedily removed by the presence of company. Hence to the Laplander, nursed in perpetual solitude, every thing which passes the sphere of his ordinary observation, becomes an object of mysterious apprehension. The appearance of a stranger, the slightest unexpected occurrence, throws him often into long fits, or paroxysms of terror. They are altogether unfit for military service. Gustavus Adolphus, it is said, when hard pressed for troops, conceived the idea of raising a regiment of Laplanders, but was soon forced to give it up, as a vain attempt. (Murray's Enquiry into the Character of Nations, p. 184, 185.)

“Nor are timidity and gloom the only symptoms of this deficiency in the character of the Laplander. The benevolent affections, having so few objects on which to exert themselves, remain concentrated within himself; and a selfishness ensues, which excludes not only social, but even the nearest relative affections. Of this a Swedish writer has adduced some instances, which seem to pass all comprehension. A Laplander having drowned himself, his wife was obliged to give six rein deer to her father-in-law before he would assist in the interment of his own son. Avarice, the vice of little minds, reigns even in Lapland. If a woman were deaf, blind, and a hundred years old, she is said to be certain of suitors, provided she possess a plentiful supply of rein deer. The small sums which they have gained by the sale of their furs, are often buried in the earth; and as their reserved character prevents them from ever disclosing the place where they have been deposited, it is by accident only if the discovery be ever made.” Ibid. p. 188, 189.

“With regard to the Samoids, we have not the same detailed accounts as in the case of the Laplanders; and travellers vary extremely in the representation of their circumstances. Some describe them as assembled in considerable bodies, and governed by chiefs or kings; others, as carrying on war. Perhaps, in the wide extent of the Northern coast of Asia, different tribes may have made very different advances in arts and population. But, in general, I find them painted in colours nearly similar to those of the Laplanders; the same external appearance and mode of life; the same apathy, feebleness, and timidity of character; the same freedom from great crimes; the being, in short, in the words of the historian, *magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus.*” Ibid. p. 192.

“For a particular detail of Greenland manners, we are indebted to the generous piety of the Moravian missionaries, who, with the view of spreading the knowledge of Christianity, voluntarily took up their

residence in these frightful climates. One exclaims, 'according to outward appearance, the life they lead is angelic, when compared to that of our European Christians. Their whole conduct is regulated by the most studious desire to do nothing which can be offensive to each other. They have not a single abusive word in their language; nor do they lose their temper even under serious injuries, unless when carried to the greatest excess.' In that elysium, which they have formed to themselves in the abysses of the sea, Torngarsuck and his mother are the presiding divinities; from which we may naturally infer, that they consider this as the happiest of all relations.

"It must not be concealed, however, that there is another and less favourable side, on which their character may be viewed. The missionaries, on a closer examination, found reason to suspect, that their friendly and generous conduct, so far as it was exercised beyond the circle of their immediate kindred, was very much prompted by a regard to interest and reputation; and of this some very strong instances are certainly given. Thus when a woman loses her husband, and has no other near relation, unless she can make herself useful in the character of a servant, she and her children are in danger of perishing with hunger; for though, when a gratuitous distribution is making, she may come in for a share, yet no regular support is afforded her; nay, the neighbours sometimes take advantage of her destitute condition, to plunder her of the little that remains. In short, their benevolence, though it may lead them readily to perform any easy services, seems incapable of great or long-continued efforts. When a Greenlander is in danger of drowning, his neighbours will give their assistance, provided they happen to be at sea along with him; but, if on shore, they will not take the trouble of going out to his aid." *Ibid.* p. 204—208.

"The character, as well as the external appearance of the *Esquimaux*, seems closely to resemble that of the Greenlanders. They appear, however, to be somewhat rougher and more disorderly. When they are represented by Europeans in a worse light, the cause may probably be found in that hostility which the unwarrantable conduct of the latter has excited.

"A late French navigator has made us acquainted with a tribe, situated in a high Northern latitude on the West coast of America, to whom he gives the name of *Tchinkitayens*. They seem considerably to resemble the Greenlanders. They are praised for industry, for domestic union, for tender, parental, and filial affection. At the same time, they seem to have a considerable tendency to fierceness and licentiousness. The whole inhabitants of an extensive bay were found to be about 400; which, though not a very great number, was yet somewhat beyond what is usual in such tribes." *Ibid.* p. 210, 211.

[Note K.] *Of the Malays.*—From Dr. Pritchard's Researches into the Physical History of Man, p. 298—301.

The present inhabitants of the peninsula of Malacca, are proved by the affinity of their speech, to be allied to the same kindred. To this nation the colonization of all the islands has been frequently imputed. The Malays have acquired, by their extensive commerce, great celebrity in the East. They have scattered themselves through the Indian Archipelago, and have formed settlements in every place conveniently situated for traffic. Their superior address and intelligence have every where extended their influence; and they have gradually spread themselves over the sea-coasts of most of the islands of the Indian sea, which are thence familiarly known by the name of the Malay countries.

They have generally mixed more or less with the former inhabitants, and have promulgated in all the districts with which they have any connexion, the tenets of Islamism, for they were the first people in these regions who adopted that superstition. The converts every where assume the name of Malays, together with their new faith; and that term is now in the Eastern parts of India synonymous with Moslem, as is the appellation of Moor in the Western peninsula.

The language of the Malays has become the *lingua franca*, or commercial tongue of this part of the globe. Its simplicity of structure renders it a convenient medium of communication between strangers; and its genius is such, that it coalesces readily with foreign idioms. By mixing in different proportions with the native languages, it has branched out into almost as many dialects as there are tribes. These jargons contain a great number of words which are found in the language of the Pacific isles. But the Malayan colonies in the Indian Archipelago, are of a very different character from the nations which are found in the Pacific. The former are a civilized commercial people, whose condition and manners are in every respect different from those of the latter. It is evident that if they are related to the people of the Pacific ocean, the connexion must have subsisted at a much more remote period than the epoch of Islamism. It therefore becomes interesting to inquire what was the condition of the Malays before that era.

For most of the information we possess on this subject, we are indebted to the late learned and indefatigable Dr. Leyden, who pursued an inquiry into the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, with the advantage of rare opportunities, and still more uncommon talents. His researches into the history of the Malays are peculiarly important to our present investigation, and lead satisfactorily to a conclusion very different from the common notion. The speech of the Malays has been generally supposed to be an original and underived language, which has been extended by the colonies of that people into all the countries of which we have been treating, and has served with greater or less modification as a basis for the idioms prevalent in all of them. Our author, however, has shewn that this celebrated language is a jargon compounded of many different idioms. It has derived a considerable portion of its vocables from the Arabic, and a still greater and more important part from the Sanscrit. When all this superstructure is removed,

there remains not even then a basis of pure and genuine character; but the remnant of the language, which might be supposed the most simple, is in fact, the most corrupt of all, being made up of several of the continental and insular languages, mixed in various proportions.

Note L.] *Antient inhabitants of the Indian isles.*—Next to the Papuas or Eastern Negroes, who are mentioned in the text, the most barbarous people of the Indian isles are said to be the Haraforas. Captain Forrest, in his last voyage to New Guinea, in which country also the Haraforas are found, met with some of these tribes. He was informed that most of them resembled the woolly-headed Papuas, but that many had straight long hair. They are generally much stronger and more active than the Malay races in the isles, and some tribes are of a lighter colour. They are cannibals, and drink out of the skulls of their enemies. The most singular feature in their manners is the necessity imposed on every individual of embracing his hands in human blood. No person is permitted to marry till he can shew the skull of a man whom he has slaughtered. The ornaments of their houses are human skulls and teeth, which are in great request with them.

All these particulars equally apply to the Idan race, who are supposed to be the original inhabitants of Bonico. They are regarded by Dr. Leyden as a tribe of Haraforas, whom they resemble in stature, colour, and other physical peculiarities, as they do also in manners. Their religious notions are of the most barbarous kind. They are in the constant habit of sacrificing human victims to their gods.

The manners of the mountaineers of Sumatra partake of the same ferocious habits. They are said to have had originally no other money than the skulls of their enemies, which were very valuable among them. The Battas, who are the most antient people in the island, still retain many customs which are relics of the same state of manners. The practice of tattooing their bodies subsists now among them. They have greater strength and activity, and a lighter complexion than the Malays. They are in the habit of anthropophagy, and themselves declare, as Dr. Leyden informs us, "that they frequently eat their own relations when aged and infirm." Their notions concerning the existence of spiritual agents and a future state, are very similar to those of the New Zealanders and other islanders in the Pacific.

Marsden has given us the following description of the Sumatrans in general. He informs us that they are the fairest of all the Indian tribes, and of a lighter colour than the Mestees, or half-breed of the rest of India. The women of the superior classes are very fair; and some of them surpass, in this point, the brunettes of Europe. Their colour is yellow, having a red tinge, which, he says, constitutes tawny or copper colour. They are below the middle stature, and graceful in their form, and particularly small at the ankles and wrists. The women have the absurd practice of compressing the heads and flattening the noses of young children, which increases their natural tendency to that shape. Their hair is strong, of a shining black, and so long as to reach to the ground in some instances. The different tribes of Sumatra do not vary materially from this description, except the Achinese, who are considerably altered by intermixture with emigrants from the hither peninsula of India, and are taller and darker in complexion than the rest.

The Bugis, or antient inhabitants of Celebes, have a peculiar language, which has a close coincidence with that of the Battas; and a considerable connection with the Javanese and Tagala. These people are of a middling stature, and have agreeable features. Their hair is not crisp; and their complexion, though more yellow than that of European women labouring under chlorosis, yet procures them, from the natives of the Moluccas, the name of whites. The aboriginal Bugis appear to have the most intimate connection with the antient Battas; and the custom of eating their prisoners of war still subsists in the central parts of the island of Celebes.

The Javanese are of an olive colour, with lank hair.

The same physical characters are seen among all the inhabitants of the chain of islands which runs from Java to the Eastward. These people are darker than those of the islands nearer the equator.

The natives of Timor, as Dampier informs us, and Arabao, which is very near it, "are Indians of a middle stature, straight-bodied, slender-limbed, and long-visaged: their hair is black and lank, and their skins of a swarthy copper colour."

The people of Savu, a small island near Timor, are, according to Cook, of a dark brown colour, and black hair. He regarded their dialect as a branch of the South Sea language.

A similar race of people is found in the Moluccas, who speak a language called the Tarnata, concerning which we have no information. Captain Forrest informs us that the inhabitants of these islands are of two sorts, viz. "the long-haired Moors, of a copper colour, like the Malays in every respect; and mop-headed Papuas, who inhabit the island parts." He tells us also that the people of the small islands between New Guinea and Magindano are of the Malay colour, with long black hair.

The natives of Mindanab have a similar character. Their language is a compound of the Malayu, Bugis, Tagala, and a certain proportion of the Tarnata.

The inhabitants of the Philippine isles are stated, by Marsden, to resemble the Sumatrans in many particulars, especially in those points in which the latter differ most from the Malays; and he conceives them to be a branch of the same stock. They are robust well-made people, fair, but inclining to copper colour, with flattish noses, and black eyes and hair.

On the whole, it is probable, in the opinion of Dr. Pritchard, that these tribes are branches of one race, which migrated in remote times from the Indian continent, where, as we have seen, traces of them still remain.

[Note M.] *Slave trade.*—The iniquitous traffic in human blood, known by the name of the African slave trade, commenced A. D. 1503, when the Portuguese transported a few Negroes from their African settlements to South America. England followed their example; and, in 1562, carried off slaves from the African coast, though not without instructions from queen Elizabeth to her admirals, forbidding them to seize them by violence, and transport them without their consent to foreign climes. These instructions, however, were little regarded: the cruelties and excesses of the slave traders increased, until the friends of humanity were roused, as with one accord, to protest against these atrocious measures. The philanthropic Granville Sharpe, the indefatigable Clarkson, and the truly benevolent Wilberforce, took the lead in this glorious contest between humanity and avarice, between justice and oppression; nor did they retire from their arduous posts till complete victory was obtained. To the honour of our country be it recorded, that the royal assent was given on the 25th of March, 1807, to a bill for the total abolition of the slave trade; and that since that period no opportunity has been lost of exciting other nations and their rulers to concur in the same benevolent design.

St. Domingo.—Among the many marks of progressive civilization, and the evidences of a wise and enlightened policy, discovered by the Haytians, are to be reckoned, unrestricted liberty of conscience in religious matters, and a natural provision for the education of youth of all classes. Both the late president Petion, and his political rival, king Henry, seem to have vied with each other in attempts to advance as rapidly as possible, the system of general instruction among the subjects of their respective government. Schoolmasters have been obtained from this country, well acquainted with the British system of education, who have already organized schools in most of the principal towns. Missionaries have been encouraged to settle in the island, and liberally patronized by the government. The Holy Scriptures have been gratefully received, and are freely circulated among the inhabitants, though the national religion is professedly catholic. These are undoubtedly pleasing indications, which augur well for the future peace and prosperity of Hayti, unless their mutual jealousies, and the ambition of their chiefs should deprive them of these social blessings. (Editor.)

[Note N.] *Diminutive persons.*—As we wish to withhold from the reader no information which might lead to an important result, whatever doubts we may entertain respecting the perfect accuracy of the statements, we submit, without reserve or alteration, the following article from Dr. Rees's new *Cyclopædia*.

“ Kimosses, or Quimosses, a name given in the language of Madagascar, to a race of pygmies, or human beings of a diminutive size, who inhabit the interior parts of the island, and there form a considerable national body. M. de Commerson, cited by M. Rochon, in his ‘Voyage to Madagascar,’ gives the following account of them. ‘The natural and distinctive character of these little men is to be white, or at least of a paler complexion than all the different blacks ever known; to have very long arms, so that their hands reach below the knee, without bending the body; and that of the women, to have scarcely any breasts, except when they nurse their infant offspring; so that many of them are obliged to have recourse to cow’s milk for feeding their new born infants. As to intellectual faculties, the Kimosses surpass all the rest of the Malegashes, who are known to be very ingenuous and adroit, though abandoned to the greatest indolence; but the Kimosses are more active, and also more warlike; so that their courage being, as it were, double in proportion to their size, their neighbours have not been able to oppress them, they have attacked them by a superiority of number amounting to ten to one. Attacked as they have been by unequal weapons, (for they do not use gunpowder and muskets, like their enemies,) they have always fought courageously, and supported their independence among their rocks, which being difficult of access, have, without doubt, contributed to their preservation. There they live upon rice, different fruits, vegetables, and roots, and rear great number of cattle, (bullocks with hunches on their backs, and sheep with long, broad, fat tails,) which serve them as part of their food. They have no intercourse with the different tribes of Malegashes, who surround them, neither by trade, nor by any other method, because they derive all they want from the territory they inhabit. As all the little skirmishes or wars which take place between them and the other inhabitants of the island, have no other object than to carry off some cattle or slaves, the diminutive size of the Kimosses exempts them from the latter injury. In order to compromise the former, they contrive, when from the summits of their mountains they perceive preparations for war in the plain, to take all the superfluous cattle they can spare, and tie them to the openings of the defiles which must be passed by the enemy in penetrating into their mountains, of which they say, they make a voluntary sacrifice to the indigence of their elder brethren; but they protest, at the same time, to fight to the last drop of blood, if they should penetrate further into their territories by force of arms. Their arms are the lance and the arrow, which they dart in the most masterly manner. At three day’s march from fort Dauphin, the natives shew, with great complaisance, little elevations of ground resembling graves, which have their origin, as they affirm, to a great massacre of the Kimosses, who were defeated in the open field by their ancestors.’ M. de Commerson says further, that he is able to certify, as an ocular witness, that in the voyage which he made to fort Dauphin, about the latter end of the year 1770, count de Modeve, the late governor, who communicated to him part of the preceding observations, gave him the satisfaction of shewing to him, among his slaves, a Kimoss woman, about thirty years of age, three feet seven inches high, whose complexion was one of the clearest and brightest he ever saw among the natives of the island. He remarked, that notwithstanding her low size, she was very strong-limbed, not resembling a slender diminutive person, but rather a woman of

common proportion, her defect of height excepted ; her arms were long, and reached, without stooping, the knee-pan ; her hair was short and woolly ; her physiognomy tolerably good, and more like that of the Europeans than of the people of Madagascar. She seemed constantly to smile ; her temper was sweet and complaisant ; and she seemed, from the tenor of her conduct, to be possessed of much good sense. Her breasts were flat, but this circumstance of itself is far from being sufficient to establish an exception from the general law of nature. The desire of recovering her liberty, as much as the fear of instant embarkation, made the little slave escape by running away into the woods. This shortness of size, as Commerson farther observes, compared with that of the Laplander, is almost graduated in both ; the Laplander and the Kimoss inhabiting the most frigid zones, and the most elevated mountains on the globe. Those which form the retreat of the Kimosses, at Madagascar, are from sixteen to eighteen hundred fathoms above the level of the sea. The productions of the vegetable kingdom, which naturally grow on these high mountains, seem to be abortive : e. g. the pine, the birch, and many other trees, appear like creeping bushes or shrubs. M. de Modeve also gives an account of this race of beings, who inhabit the centre of the island, in the twenty-second degree of latitude. The middling size of the men, he says, is three feet five inches, and they have a long round beard ; the size of the women is somewhat shorter than that of the men. The Kimosses are thick and strong-limbed ; the colour of their skin is less tawny than that of the other natives, and their hair short and woolly. They forge iron and steel, of which they make lances and arrows, which are the only arms they use. In other particulars, he confirms the account already given of their mode of self-defence. From other reports, he informs us, that the valley of the Kimosses is rich in cattle and other provisions. The dwarfs are laborious and very good husbandmen. Their chief has an authority more absolute and more respected than that of the other chiefs of the different districts of Madagascar. The extent of the valley which they inhabit, he was not able to ascertain ; but he knew that it was surrounded by very high mountains, and that its situation is sixty leagues N. W. from fort Dauphin ; and westward it is bounded by the country of Mantanata. Their villages are erected on little eminences, whose steep sides are the more inaccessible, since they have multiplied the obstacles which forbid approach to them.

[Note O.] *Influence of climate on national character.*—“ Among the hypotheses which have been framed respecting the origin of national character, none has been more generally received than that which derives it from the influence of climate. The illustrious author of the *Spirit of Laws* has cherished this hypothesis with a peculiar and almost paternal partiality. Succeeding writers, swayed by the authority of his name, and by a few facts which seemed to give countenance to the system, have very generally adopted it, to at least a certain extent. By a few, however, and those of the first rank, it has been absolutely rejected.

“ My own inquiries upon this subject have led me decidedly to the conclusion, that climate, (*physically* considered,) has no influence whatever upon human character. The following observations, in addition to those of Hume, Kaines, and Volney, may, perhaps, be of some use in bringing this question to an issue.

“ A hot climate is supposed to produce a general sluggishness and unfitness for vigorous exertion, either of mind or body. Hence, its inhabitants are mild, indolent, incapable of opposing any vigorous resistance to those who attempt to oppress or enslave them. They become subjected, therefore, to a form of government altogether despotic. The same organization renders them feeble and timid, averse to the sight or shedding of blood ; of consequence unwarlike, and an easy prey to every invader. Such is the picture which Montesquieu has drawn of them ; let us examine how far it will apply universally.

“ The facts upon which that writer has rested his hypothesis, are all afforded by the great despotic empires in the South of Asia. Now none of these are placed immediately under the equator, where the heat might be supposed most extreme and enervating. In that region, despoticisms, no doubt, exist ; but they are tumultuous and turbulent despoticisms ; where, though the sovereign authority is subjected to no legal limit, it is perpetually checked and controlled by a powerful and barbarous aristocracy. In this latitude are the Malays, the fiercest people under the sun ; the inhabitants of Java, Sumatra, and other islands in the Indian ocean, among all of whom reigns an irregular feudal system, which is restless and turbulent beyond, perhaps, any other. Abyssinia is a legal despotism ; but it is one, of which mildness and indolence certainly are not the basis. In the centre of Africa, direct beneath the burning Line, we find the Gallas, the fierce and cannibal tribes of Giagas, Ansirin, and Dahomeys ; who, from time immemorial, have spread desolation and terror over that immense continent.

“ Among most of the states situated on the river Gambia, the form of government is purely republican. The same constitution prevails on the Gold Coast, in which the kings and chiefs, where they exist, possess a power little more than nominal. It is not till we arrive at the kingdoms of Whidah and Benin, considerably South of the Line, that we find feebleness and despotism.

“ In South America, only the narrow stripe of Peru answered to the description of Montesquieu. The numerous tribes covering that immense tract, which extends from the Andes to the Atlantic, and from the river Plata to the Oronoko, were all warriors and cannibals, living in a state of the wildest and fiercest independence.

“ Thus on making a circuit round this central region of the torrid zone, we find the prevailing character of its inhabitants to be directly the reverse of that which is conceived to arise from the influence of its climate.

Should we suppose any thing peculiarly enervating in the more temperate latitude of the South of Asia, (though I know not on what grounds such an opinion could be supported,) we need only recal the late events which have happened in our East India possessions, where warriors and founders of states have arisen, as active, as brave, and as bloody, as any that ever issued from the regions of the North. The revolutions of Persia, and the history of India beyond the Ganges, furnish additional arguments to strengthen this conclusion. The circumstance of these empires being so often subdued by Northern invaders, seems to be owing to the military superiority possessed by a barbarous over a half-civilized people. Egypt, which was bounded by the sea on the North, and had consequently no barbarous nations on that side, was repeatedly conquered from the South, by the Ethiopians and shepherds." (Murray's Enquiry, p. 140—144.)

Philosophy of History.

LECTURE II.

Review of Savage, Pastoral, and Agricultural Nations—Inquiry into the Principles by which they are influenced—The origin of Commerce: its History, Causes, and Effects—Comparative view of the beneficial or injurious influence of Commerce on the state of Society, character of Nations, and progress of Knowledge.

IN our former lecture we endeavoured to explain the general nature of the Philosophy of History, shewing that its only sure foundations were the accumulation and generalization of facts;—that there were certain rules formed imperceptibly by the infant mind, which, if properly applied, establish the most important parts of historical criticism;—that, if applied to the Pentateuch, they go far towards establishing its historical authority;—that Moses represents the human family as originally one; and, previous to its dispersion, as having made considerable progress in many of the useful, and some of the ornamental arts. To account, consistently with the Mosaic statement, for the diversified condition of mankind, it has been proposed to refer to five classes of causes; the first of which, namely, the local or physical, was discussed in the last lecture; the second, which includes the varied employments of men, forms the subject of the present.

Adopting, as the basis of our present investigation, the Mosaic representation of the early condition of mankind, we perceive the human race become an enormous family, looking round for the extension of its borders, and attentively considering the means of obtaining support. Among the individuals, of whom that great family was composed, there would necessarily be found some men remarkable for natural courage and agility, of a migratory disposition, and

impatient of labour and restraint. These would delight in the employment of the chase; among themselves they would be termed *warriors* and *hunters*; but others, who witnessed the deteriorating effects of their mode of life, would apply to them the contemptuous appellation of *savages*. Persons of a similar disposition, living near the sea-shore, would launch into the deep in some frail vessel just able to abide the ordinary force of its billows, and endeavour to obtain a precarious subsistence by the occupation of fishing. Other individuals averse to constant labour, but of a less turbulent character than those of the first class, and more desirous of regular supplies of food, would devote themselves to the care of cattle, and be denominated *shepherds*, or *pastors*. Another class, more patient of labour, and convinced that nothing would yield so permanent a reward as industry, would become the *cultivators* of the soil. As society increased, individuals would endeavour to gain some profit by supplying the relative wants of their neighbours. Savages could do this but in a limited degree, as they possessed no beasts of burden; shepherds could more conveniently wander over extensive districts with a selection of the ablest of their flocks and herds; but of all classes of men none possessed the facilities of the fishing tribes, if they had chosen to enlarge, strengthen, and improve their vessels, and devote their attention to commercial pursuits. Thus we may easily conceive of the antient world becoming divided among four classes of men.

1. The savages, including alike under that term, hunters and fishermen. 2. Shepherds. 3. Agriculturists, and 4. Merchants. (Note A.)

I. The antient savages were scattered over a large portion of the world. In the North of Britain, some tribes are said to have resided so savage as to have fed on human flesh. Throughout Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Thrace, much of savage life prevailed; but it was mingled, in different circumstances, with pastoral habits, or with the culture of the earth, by means of slaves. About the time of Cæsar, the natives of antient France were very numerous, and depended chiefly upon agriculture for their support. They still, however, esteemed hunting the most honourable of all useful employments, and offered their annual sacrifices to Diana. A similar cause, namely, the rapid increase of population, restricted savage life in Spain, Italy, and Greece; though in all these countries there were numerous individuals to be found, to whom nothing afforded such perfect satisfaction, as hunting and war. In antient Asia, civilization made early and very rapid progress. Savage life was therefore confined to the vast and thinly peopled regions of Tartary; nor even there did it exist in its purity, but

was mingled in some degree with the care of cattle. In Africa, on the contrary, with the exception of Egypt, Lybia, Numidia, and perhaps Zahara, almost all the inhabitants were probably savages.

Taking a view of the present state of the Eastern hemisphere, these barbarous habits appear to have very generally given place to more advanced conditions of society. It is, however, still seen, that many of the inhabitants of Norway and Iceland subsist on the produce of the ocean; while a portion also of the Laplanders derive much of their support from the flesh of the wild rein-deer, obtained by the chase. In Asia, the hunting life, exclusive of all other occupations, is limited to some parts of Siberia and Tartary, the remoter provinces of India, and the Indian isles. The hunters of Africa have more or less accustomed themselves to the cultivation of some ordinary, grains, suited to their soil and climate, as a means of additional subsistence. In America, all those countries, which are not occupied by European settlers, may be very fairly considered as in the possession of savages.

In a former lecture, we contemplated some peculiarities of colour and form, which, if they were indeed the result of physical causes, were probably produced without the subject of them being any more conscious of their operation, than if he had belonged to the vegetable kingdom. In those effects, on the contrary, which form the subject of the present lecture, the mind has a large share, either actively, or passively considered. In some instances the mind can record its own progress; and in others, it can discover such analogies, as help it to argue from its own feelings, what its conduct would be, in peculiar circumstances. We may therefore congratulate ourselves on approaching the regions of day, and planting our feet on land, that will not continually shake under us.

And here it is necessary to state, as clearly as possible, the grounds on which we intend to reason. Assuming it as most probable, that the human family was originally one, and that, therefore, human nature is every where radically the same, we proceed to apply that principle to the conduct of men. From all that we experience in ourselves, or observe in others, we are induced to believe, that the desire of happiness is the great impulse of human conduct; and that, in endeavouring to realize his wishes, man is governed partly by circumstances, to which he accommodates his exertions, and partly by models which he is induced voluntarily to imitate. It will be readily admitted, that man is an

imitative animal, and that children especially copy from the conduct of their parents and companions; but few are probably aware, how far the influence of this principle of imitation extends. It cannot, perhaps, be better illustrated than in the instance of dancing, an exercise perfectly voluntary, and therefore in which the mind has had every opportunity of exerting its powers, and producing something original. Yet it is admitted, that from the steps of the roebuck are taken some of those motions that were most celebrated in the Grecian dancers. The Kamtschadales acknowledge the bear as their dancing master; and the inhabitants of New South Wales confer the same honour on the kangaroo, whose boundings at the return of certain seasons, they scrupulously imitate.

Whoever attentively studies the manners of the hunting tribes, will easily trace a most striking resemblance between the manners of the human savage, and those of the wild animals which are the objects of his pursuit or dread. Men, having gone off, in comparative small numbers, from the great assemblage of the human family, in pursuit of prey, naturally chose such spots for the scene of their labours, as would best shelter game, and therefore might be expected to contain it in the greatest abundance. Their garments were soon curtailed or laid aside; the soft habits of civilized life were gradually relinquished; while the quick senses, the swift loco-motion, the desperate courage, the capability of long endurance of hunger and thirst, which were witnessed in the wild animals around them, became objects highly important to themselves, and were accounted the rarest accomplishments in which man could excel. That hunting, when used as a means of subsistence, is naturally connected with the disrelish for civilized life, might be easily proved from facts occurring in the New Forest in Hampshire, where some of the peasantry have been found to forsake the labours of the plough for the acquisition of deer: in the more remote settlements of America, where many individuals, once dwelling in civilized society, have been known to addict themselves to the chase, and acquire manners, in a considerable degree resembling the native Indians: and in New South Wales, where some hardened convicts have abandoned the colony, and residing among the savage tribes of the interior, have given a decided preference to their wild and unsettled modes of life. [Note B.]

The resemblance between savages and wild beasts is of very frequent occurrence, affecting almost all the circumstances of life. Whoever has studied the characters of wild beasts, must have observed, that their senses are remarkably

acute ; and the same remark applies to most tribes of savages. On this subject, we shall not now enlarge, as we shall shortly produce an extract illustrative of the modes of warfare practised by the Indians, which will also illustrate this point. Even the perception of very distant objects by means of sight depends not more on the qualities of the eye, than on the use or abuse which is made of that most important organ. Vaillant informs us, that, during his travels in Africa, his powers of vision were so increased, that he could clearly discern objects at so remote a distance, as that they would formerly have been counted invisible, without the aid of optical instruments. At the same time, however, a sensible decay took place in that microscopic faculty by which the human eye is enabled to discern the more minute qualities of bodies nigh at hand. When, in consequence of his returning to the habits of civilized life, it became necessary for him to survey minute and near objects, he again lost that extraordinary lengthened sight, which he had acquired by wandering among the Hottentots in the deserts. It has also appeared, since the various attempts have been made for the education of the poor, that those peasants who, from their habits of life, have been accustomed principally to contemplate somewhat distant objects, require to be furnished with a larger print than others of their own condition in life, whose employments have accustomed them to more minute observation.

The other senses of the savage, such as his hearing, smelling, and touch, become inconceivably acute, in consequence of his residence in the open air, and the great simplicity of his diet. That his speed is the result of habit, will appear from the following anecdote. Alexander Selkirk, (whose residence in the island of Juan Fernandez, furnished the first hints to the author of *Robinson Crusoe*,) is said, on his landing, to have been provided with a gun ; but, having exhausted his ammunition, he was compelled to make himself a spear, with which he chased down the wild goats, when running at their utmost speed. [Note C.]

But war is that state in which an Indian most delights ; we shall therefore introduce, in this place, an extract descriptive of its artifices and horrors.

“ The great qualities in an Indian war, are, vigilance, and attention to give and avoid a surprize : and indeed, in these they are superior to all the rest of the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests, having their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living, in every respect, according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first

appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fire, which they smell ; and by the track of their feet on the ground, which would be imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can distinguish with the utmost facility. They can even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not with all his glasses discover footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of small importance ; because their enemies are no less acquainted with them than themselves. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or prepare their victuals ; they lie close to the ground all the day, and travel only in the night ; and, marching along in files, he that closes the rear diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet, and of theirs who preceded him. When they halt, to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy to lie concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes ; and, while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or those who have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprised of their design, and comes in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part of the enemy's forces to pass unmolested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising from the ambush, they pour a storm of musket bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to repeat the volley. Thus does the battle continue, until the one party is so much weakened as to be incapable of further resistance. But if the force, on each side, continues to be nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They abandon this distant mode of war ; they rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the most bitter reproaches. A cruel combat ensues ; death appears in a thousand hideous forms, which it would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold, but which only rouse the fury of savages. They trample upon, they insult the dead bodies of their enemies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes even devouring their flesh. The flame rages on, till it meets with

no resistance ; then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field."

A few remarks must now sum up what remain to be stated of the manners of barbarous tribes. The time of the savage is divided into three unequal portions ; devoted to war, to the chase, and to glutinous indolence. To conduct the chase, he finds it necessary to imitate the strength, hardihood, and wiles of the principal natives of the forest. In the management of his provision, he scarcely ranks higher than they. After a long abstinence, which would nearly famish an European, the savage succeeds, by hunting, in obtaining a copious supply of game. Culinary operations immediately follow the perils of the chase ; his neighbours are invited ; jollity succeeds to long-continued abstinence from food ; and this is followed by senseless indolence. Some of the North American Indians have carried the matter still further, and maintained, that the more head of deer their hunters should destroy in one year, the greater number they would meet with in the ensuing season. Their habitations are rude and comfortless. The beaver might probably teach them architecture, or even the birds that entwine the twigs for the construction of their nests. Their hovels contain little or nothing, which deserves the name of furniture, except their weapons of war and their implements of hunting. As to domestic life, every thing is governed by brutal force : the children are, perhaps, caressed and indulged through the impulse of parental affection, which even the habits of savage life cannot destroy ; but their wives are literally treated as beasts of burden, employed in the most servile drudgery, laden with the skins of beasts, which they are desirous of conveying to the nearest commercial settlement. They are either destitute of clothing, or their garments are short, such as adhere closely to the body, and therefore are not likely to be torn by the underwood of the forests. Their civil governments are, generally speaking, remarkably free ; their chiefs, consisting of experienced hunters and valiant warriors, expect to be consulted by their supreme leader on every important occasion. As to religion, the savage tribes seldom fail to accompany the worship of their gods, with many gloomy, sanguinary, and superstitious rites. Their moral feeling is highly susceptible, both of friendship and enmity ; no rewards are too great to be bestowed on their friends ; nor any sufferings too dreadful to be inflicted on their enemies. As to general knowledge, their minds are not wholly uncultivated. Their wandering mode of life necessarily makes them acquainted with extensive tracts of country ; the stars are the only guides to direct them in their nocturnal travels ; they observe minutely the instincts of those larger

and fiercer beasts of prey, which excite their terror; and of those lesser and more timid animals, upon which they depend for provision and clothing; nor is it of inferior importance to them to ascertain the properties of plants; those vegetable blessings, which may either cure their simple diseases, or mitigate the pain of their wounds. Their rude taste leads them to delight in the wonderful and sublime; and both their poetry and eloquence consist of bold images and vehement expressions, combined together with little attention to order and precision. Thus it would appear, that an impartial estimate of the savage tribes differs materially from the encomiums of their friends; and the unqualified reproaches of their enemies.

Closely allied to the hunting tribes are those which subsist principally by fishing, who are to be found on the North Western coasts of America, among the Esquimaux, the Greenlanders, and the inhabitants of Iceland and Norway. From the nature of the prey which they are employed in ensnaring, they are seldom possessed, either of the fierceness or the sagacity of their hunting brethren; but they frequently shew considerable skill in the structure of their canoes, and their instruments of fishing.

II. The second place in the ascending scale of society has been generally assigned to *shepherds*, meaning by that name, whatever class of men derive their subsistence from the care of inferior animals, whether sheep, oxen, camels, or rein-deer. Persons of this class, in antient times, resided in several parts of England, (where they were denominated Ceangi,) in Scotland, in Ireland, in Scandinavia, in some parts of Germany and France, in some parts of Spain and Italy, in Arcadia, and other parts of Greece, in large tracts of Poland and Russia, in some provinces of Asia Minor, Chaldea, Arabia, and Independent Tartary; in portions of the most cultivated countries of Asia, and in the African provinces of Numidia, Nubia, and Zahara. The modern shepherds are chiefly to be found in Spain, Italy, Turkey in Europe, Hungary, and the Danubian provinces, Russia, and other Northern districts of Europe; in Siberia, Tartary, Persia, and Turkey in Asia; in Zahara, Abyssinia, and in general through all those parts of Africa, in which either the Moors or the Bedouins wander for their prey. As for the modern Western hemisphere, it is remarkable, that we find no pastoral tribe in all the extent of the vast continent of America.

Returning to our original principles, that the characters of men are chiefly formed from circumstances and by imitation, we shall not find it difficult to

identify some portion of the character of the shepherd, with that of the tame animals, which are the objects of his care, and with which he is the most conversant.

On investigating and comparing the characters of the shepherd and his flock, we meet with the following remarkable points of resemblance. *Migration, gregariousness, and a disposition to hoard or monopolize.*

1. *Migration.* A variety of causes impel both the shepherd and his flock to have recourse to the practice of migration: among these may be mentioned the failure of food or water, the troublesome nature of insects, variety of climate, and, in some instances, the pursuit of enemies. In all their movements, the shepherd is, of course, obliged to conform to the habits of his flock: he does not reside in a fixed and lofty habitation, but in a humble tent, made of hair or skins, and easily removed as circumstances may render it convenient. It is probable, that tents were at first of the most simple possible materials, mere garments or skins stretched, either by the arms, or other means, to defend their possessors from the scorching rays of the sun, or from the peltings of the storm. To these were afterwards made the addition of pins, cords, and stakes, that they might be elevated with less trouble. Then there were formed superior structures of two, four, or six sides; the latter capable of being divided into apartments, so as to give to the tent nearly all the accommodation of a dwelling-house. In Tartary, some of these tents are raised on wheels, and may justly be considered as enormous waggons, which could convey, in an undisturbed state, much of the property of their rude possessors. The Arabians, on the contrary, and their relatives, the Bedouins, of Africa, have used the ordinary tent from ages immemorial. The furniture of the tent is clearly constructed for the same purposes as the tent itself; that is, portability. It consists but of a few particulars; bowls, which are let into each other and packed up in sacks; beds, composed chiefly of flat skins, which may be occasionally used as garments; great skin bottles, to contain any species of liquid; a pitcher or two, in which water may be fetched; a handmill, to grind corn; an oven equally portable, in which it may be baked, and various other cooking utensils. The construction of their handmills and ovens vary according to circumstances. The most simple kind of handmill, is a mere stone roller that breaks the corn; the most complicated, turns with the winch, and has both an upper and nether millstone. Some of these camp ovens are so constructed, that a slight fire being kindled within them, they bake, with great rapidity, cakes of very thin paste.

attached to the outside. Their mode of sitting is on the ground, or on a very low sofa, and their diversions, which are chiefly taken with drafts or chess, are conformed to the same principle of portability. The clothing of the shepherd is almost invariably long, so as to serve him occasionally either as a tent or a bed.

2. *Gregariousness.* Whoever observes tame animals, especially sheep, when in a state of alarm, must have perceived, that they seek for safety by herding together with the utmost rapidity; and it is even asserted, that sheep, which are in a great measure wild, will, in this position, make a defence against their enemies, which is by no means contemptible. In like manner we find, that wherever pastoral tribes abound, they submit to a form of government, which may be called *gregarious*. In Arabia, they are divided into families, all of which are supposed to have descended from the same ancestor, at a date not very remote; and a greater or less number of these families form a tribe, which submits to the *emir* as the family does to the *scheik*. Such a form of government may accord with a state of society in which there is but little property to furnish subjects for dispute, and especially if the emir be a prince of wisdom and moderation; but when the contrary is the case, civil wars frequently take place, or some members forsake the confederation. These remarks apply (with change of the names of office,) to Tartary, Barbary, and, it is believed, to every other country inhabited by pastoral tribes. [Note D.]

3. *A disposition to hoard or monopolize.* There is some difficulty in tracing clearly this desire of appropriation among tame animals, yet the vigilance with which the male is observed to guard his seraglio, and the eagerness with which, in some cases, provisions of food, water, &c. are seized from each other, seem amply sufficient to shew, that such a spirit does really exist. Proceed from the flock to the shepherd, and you will find this selfish principle in full operation. He is, generally, a polygamist, and watches his numerous wives with the most jealous caution. The tents, in which they are imprisoned, are inaccessible, unless to near relatives; nor may they be seen in public without the covering of a veil. To all these restraints it is probable that the Eastern women submit with less reluctance, as they have a tendency to preserve their beauty from the rays of an almost vertical sun. (Note E.)

The property of pastoral nations seldom consist in specie; but is rather composed of costly vessels, clothes, and especially skins, cattle of various

kinds, slaves, and their own families. Their mode of life renders them extremely desirous of accumulating such treasures as can be most easily removed. Hence we find pastoral nations generally distinguished by the great frugality of their diet; seldom eating animal food, but generally disposing of the young of their flocks, in exchange for corn, clothing, or other treasures; dressing their food with the utmost simplicity, and very seldom sitting down to an entertainment. There is, however, a class of shepherds, (among whom some of the Tartar tribes have been most distinguished,) who have filled a sort of middle place between the shepherd and the savage, who have disdained the use of bread, and subsisted upon their own resources. They have thus avoided the necessity of barter, and retained a ferocity of manners, which must otherwise have gradually subsided. [Note F.]

The intellectual progress of the shepherd is fully equal to that of the savage, whom he excels in a placid disposition of mind, susceptible to the impressions of truth or falsehood. His imagery is frequently rich, florid, and licentious; borrowed from those scenes of nature, with which he is most familiar, or those habits of life, to which he is accustomed: but it does not, in these respects, equal the irregular grandeur of some productions of savage life: as among pastoral nations, there is scarcely any distinction of trade; in the manufacture of drinking vessels, spears, or other valuables, ingenuity goes as far as the limited practice of an uncultivated mind can carry it. The religious systems of shepherd tribes have more to do with the admiration of nature, than with the sacrifice of living victims. In war, it has been observed, that ambuscades are the principal resources of the savage; but the advantages of the shepherd, in military operations, consist chiefly in his disengagement from soil, and the facility with which he can march, and countermarch, and perform various movements and evolutions which are highly necessary to success in martial enterprises.

III. Agriculture has been, in all ages, one of the most valuable and important of human occupations. It was practised by some of the Belgic settlers in our own country, long before the invasion of Cæsar; and, though that event must necessarily have been attended with a considerable loss of lives and property, it does not appear, that the agricultural interests of Britain at all declined under the Roman domination. On the contrary, the Britons and Romans appear to have mutually instructed each other, especially concerning the manufacture, the value, and the use of marle. Similar remarks will apply to the

Gauls, who, being a populous nation, were obliged to attend to agriculture, as a means of subsistence, in which they equalled, if they did not exceed, their British neighbours. Spain has ever been less devoted to agriculture than pasturage; but many parts of Italy were highly cultivated, and Sicily was the granary of all the adjacent European provinces. The Greeks cultivated agriculture with so much attention, that they deemed the persons, by whom it was first introduced, worthy of divine homage.

Passing from Europe to Asia, we find that the provinces of Asia Minor, Judea, Syria, Babylonia, Chaldea, and various other Eastern countries, made abundant use of the plough. In Africa, the inhabitants of Egypt and Lybia were chiefly distinguished by agricultural pursuits; though by far the greater part of that quarter of the globe was, and still is, involved in all the horrors of ignorance and barbarism; its tribes chiefly subsisting by the cruel labours of the chase.

In the modern Eastern hemisphere, agriculture has partly advanced and partly receded. In our own country, in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, the interests of agriculture have been evidently progressive; but, on the contrary, the South of Europe, having been occupied since the fall of the Western Roman empire, by less industrious nations than formerly, has become less populous; and consequently its inhabitants have been less active in procuring the means of support. The same remark applies to those Asiatic provinces which are subject to the Turks and Persians; industry not being in those countries the prevalent order of the day. Hindostan, China, and Japan, have been agricultural nations from the most remote antiquity. In Africa, if agricultural labour have declined in Egypt and Lybia, yet a species of imperfect agriculture, suited to the climate and soil, is carried on by different tribes, in Guinea, Negroland, and other parts of the peninsula.

In America, all the European colonists have introduced and cultivated husbandry. Various attempts have been made to induce the aborigines to profit by their example; but very limited success has hitherto attended these most liberal and benevolent measures.

A diligent investigation of the character of agricultural nations will make it evident that they were influenced by a high consideration of the value of acquired property. The effects of this principle may be easily demonstrated, in a considerable variety of instances. It appears, that when agricultural families

or nations began to establish themselves in any country, they generally settled on the margin of some large river, as the Nile, Euphrates, or the Tigris. When any of these rivers, as the Hurdus, the Ganges, or the Nile, overflows its banks at certain precise periods, and fertilizes the adjacent country, attempts are made to regulate and augment the beneficial effects of this inundation, by means of canals, sluices, and other artificial expedients. Men, who thus took possession of a tract of land, requiring and amply rewarding the labour of cultivation, and saw the riches it yielded increasing in proportion to their industry, naturally extended their desires still further. It was particularly their object to profit by all that was *regular*, and by all that was *old*; or, in other words, to avail themselves of the benefits of experience and observation. In the first instance, they saw that the division of labour caused all its parts to be greatly accelerated; and, acting on this principle, they adopted a very minute division of trades and occupations. This custom prevailed amongst the Hindoos time immemorial, as well as amongst the antient Egyptians, where persons of the same family uniformly followed the business of their fathers and progenitors; and in China, where such minute divisions of society and employments are instituted as can scarcely fail to excite among Europeans a smile of wonder and contempt. From this veneration for established customs, we may naturally expect some remarkable effects to result. The kings of antient Egypt and of modern China, for example, have all their most ordinary affairs regulated by a code of laws; by which they are governed not only in their religious ceremonies, but also in their diet, and in almost every other subordinate concern.

[Note G.]

The history and manners of agricultural countries will sufficiently account for their intellectual strength and weakness. Their disposition to make the utmost of their present store, combined with a desire to exclude whatever is novel and foreign, has affixed certain limits to human knowledge, and perpetuated customs, which are very inconsistent with the improvement and happiness of mankind. Hence, in nations purely agricultural, learning is rapidly progressive, till it arrive at a certain degree of perfection, when the dread of innovation overcomes every desire for the promotion of the public good, and renders knowledge stationary. Among agricultural tribes, poetry, eloquence, and the polite arts, are particularly tasteless and inanimate; while, in philosophy and science, they frequently make much greater progress, as having a nearer resemblance to those habits in which they have been trained. Their systems and ceremonies of religion have generally been sumptuous and costly. The

same disposition, which induces them to venerate that which is old, makes them desirous also of erecting such edifices, as may embalm them in the recollection of posterity. To the production of such works, another feeling would also greatly contribute: namely, the conscious necessity of submitting to permanent regulations, in order to accomplish objects of great public magnificence. Hence have arisen the pyramids of Egypt, the various public works of Babylon, the antient buildings of Nineveh, and many other stupendous edifices in China, India, and other parts of the world.

IV. In tracing commercial history, it is easy to discover three causes of the obscurity which rests upon the subject. For, 1st, Many great commercial nations have perished in the lapse of ages, and with them have perished the annals of their history. This has been the case in a greater or less degree, with Phenicia, Carthage, Palmyra, and several other ancient states. 2nd, The jealous animosity which has prevailed for the most part among rival commercial powers, and made them desirous of excluding their competitors from all participation in their wealth, is another cause for this obscurity. Thus we read that a Phenician mariner gained great reputation among his countrymen by causing his vessel to founder, rather than permit a stranger to follow his progress. 3rd, The third cause, and probably the most universal in its effects, is, that historians have been more careful to record the intrigues of courts, the desolations of war, and the political convulsions of empires, than to watch the silent progress of those commercial and scientific improvements, which have gradually established the power of nations, and caused them, in a variety of instances, to co-operate for the general benefit of mankind.

The history of commerce is scarcely to be dated from the first attempts to interchange commodities; but it may rather be considered as commencing with those merchants, who esteemed the exchange of commodities, prepared by others, an employment sufficiently important to become their principal means of support. It has been formerly stated, that savages themselves would be disposed to engage in these pursuits, being pretty much at leisure; shepherds, as being provided with beasts of burden; and still more the fishing tribes, as having the management of their small coasting vessels. But as it is not easy to determine, in what part of the world the evils and the benefits of commerce were first exhibited, the only way in which the subject can now be treated with propriety, is, to fix on some convenient country, with whose early history we are in a good degree acquainted, and to make such additions to these well known

facts, from the comparative view of human nature, as may lead to some beneficial results.

The land of Egypt has been justly celebrated from remote antiquity, on account of its geographical advantages, and its valuable productions. A variety of produce, consisting of different kinds of corn, horses, fine linen, and numerous other commodities of inferior interest, furnished the Egyptians with a plentiful market; though, as an agricultural people, their aversion to every thing foreign and new, would prevent them from travelling to those countries in which they might expect to obtain higher prices for their goods. The neighbours of the Egyptians profited by their neglect, and endeavoured to advance their own interest by supplying this deficiency. The Africans descended from the centre of their vast peninsula, and brought supplies of gold, ivory, spices, and other valuables. These articles of merchandize were conveyed down the Nile by those nations which from ages immemorial have navigated that river.

[Notes H and I.]

About the same time, probably, the commerce of the antient Egyptians was also carried on by different Arabian tribes. According to the book of Genesis, it prevailed as early as the time of the patriarch Jacob; and from the very nature of things, from the advantages of soil, climate, and maritime situation, enjoyed by that people, there is reason to expect, that it will prevail to the end of time.

In some very remote ages, this species of commerce fell into the hands of the Phenicians, in consequence of a great commercial revolution, which probably originated in the successes of Joshua. That Jewish conqueror, having compelled his enemies to retire northward, Phenicia, which was situated on the northern part of Palestine, became so crowded with inhabitants, that it was scarcely possible to find them a place of residence, in which they could procure an adequate supply of provisions. At the same time, the Phenicians had made such progress in civilization, that their necessities and modes of enjoyment had become various and extensive. Thus circumstanced, they naturally took to commerce, as a resource. Their country was, for the most part, a barren shore; but they grew some fine flax, from which they manufactured some excellent cloth, which was dyed of an exquisite purple from the blood of the murex, a shell-fish that was found on their coasts. [Note K.] They made also many curious articles of glass, metal, wood, and stone. Such were their own

commercial resources ; besides which, they gradually became carriers to all the surrounding nations. Their trade, when in its most prosperous state, appears to have extended principally in three directions. 1st, The caravan trade across Syria, which gave rise to the city of Tadmor, or Palmyra, celebrated for the magnificence of its remaining ruins. This merchandize was probably conveyed from Phenicia to the Euphrates, proceeded down that river to the Persian Gulph, and was then exchanged with the merchants of India. 2nd, A second route was the Egyptian, which the Phenicians appear to have obtained through the kindness of the Jewish princes, who allowed them to make use of the ports of Elah Eza, and Gaba. The Phenicians also facilitated this design, by constructing the city and harbour of Rhinomrura, on the Mediterranean coast, near the river Nile. Hence they proceeded with their commodities down the Nile, and traded, as they had opportunity, with the merchants of Southern Asia ; nor is it improbable, that some of the most adventurous among them penetrated as far as to India, and the island of Ceylon. 3rd, The third and most extensive market for the sale of Phenician commodities, was afforded by their navigation along the Mediterranean shores. All of these they visited, including those also of the Euxine ; established trading colonies in Greece, Sicily, the North of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, passed the pillars of Hercules, traded for tin with the inhabitants of the Scilly isles, Cornwall and Devonshire, and passed, we know not how far, down the coasts of Western Africa. Such vast endeavours to extend the limits of antient navigation and commerce, have justly earned for the Phenicians, a most honourable station in the list of mercantile adventurers.

It will here be proper to pause, and enquire into the effects, which were produced by the commercial success of the Phenicians. According to antient testimonies, they soon became extremely opulent ; riches introduced luxuries, and these engendered insufferable pride, that induced them to treat the rest of the world with arrogance and contempt. In most places, however, where their commerce prevailed, they sowed the precious seeds of civilization, taught the rudiments of letters, and communicated some of the first principles of the arts and sciences. They are universally acknowledged to have been the earliest literary benefactors to Greece ; from Greece, the benefits of learning were transmitted to Rome ; and by the Romans were introduced into Britain. [Note L.]

While, however, they were thus useful as instruments of civilizing barbarians and diffusing knowledge, morality has some severe charges to bring against their

national, as well as personal conduct. Most of their vessels occasionally practised piracy. They appear also to have made use of all those unjust and fraudulent measures for the injury of the natives with whom they traded, which Europeans have since practised on the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and America. Their morality was unworthy of the name, since it admitted of the most unnatural and abominable practices; and their religion was bloody in the extreme, abounding in human sacrifices.

At length the prosperity of Phenicia yielded to decay; Sidon was destroyed by Ochus, king of Persia, B. C. 351; Tyre, by Alexander, king of Macedon, B. C. 332; and Carthage, the most illustrious of the Phenician colonies, by the Romans, B. C. 146. The fall of Phenicia terminated the first period of the history of commerce; which history may be divided into three parts; the first extending from the origin of nations, to the destruction of Tyre by Alexander; the second, from the destruction of Tyre, to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; the third, from the discovery of the Cape, to the present time.

During the second of the above-mentioned periods, commerce was successively conducted by several different nations; viz. the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Italian states, and the German Hans towns. The Greeks were in circumstances which naturally made them a commercial people. Their increasing population had obliged them to establish themselves in Asia Minor; the Southern part of Italy; (which was called Magna Græcia, or Southern Greece,) Sicily, Marseilles in France, and in various other settlements, both on the European and African coasts of the Mediterranean. Between these colonies and the mother countries, an intercourse was carried on, which was necessarily connected with an interchange of commodities; and thus many of the Grecian states became almost imperceptibly commercial. When, however, Alexander the Great obtained the empire of the world, he resolved to render his conquests more remarkably subservient to the improvement and extension of commerce. Three passages were now opened to India: first, the old caravan route by Palmyra, which had been before discovered and frequented by Phenician traders; another, from the North of India to the South of the Caspian, thence by the Wolga and Don rivers, and partly overland, to the Euxine Sea and the harbour of Byzantium, from which port commodities were easily conveyed to the different cities of Greece. Several variations have taken place in this route at different periods, and have given rise to several opulent cities. The third

route to India was through Egypt. The capital of Egypt was Alexandria, a city erected by Alexander the Great, on some of the mouths of the Nile, in consequence of his esteem for the Egyptians, who received him readily, and united with him against the Persians, who were the common enemies of their gods. From Alexandria, the vessels proceeded up the Nile, whence goods were transported to Berenice on the Red Sea. Hence they pursued their course to Orleis, in the southern part of Arabia, where they met the merchants from the farther parts of Asia and the neighbouring shores of Africa, and made an exchange of commodities. Such was the commerce of the Greeks.

To the commerce of the Greeks, succeeded that of the Romans, who were, however, never industrious enough wholly to rival or completely to depress the Grecian merchants. The Romans annually sent a fleet to Alexandria to fetch away the commodities of the East, which had been imported by the merchants of that city. This fleet brought its rich cargo to Rome, which thus became the emporium of the West; and whence the goods were diffused over, what was afterwards denominated, the Western empire.

When Constantine had enriched that city which perpetuates his name, it profited greatly by the Eastern commerce; deriving from its convenient situation much of the trade of India, by the Caspian, by the caravans, and by the Mediterranean; but especially by the two former routes.

About 600 years after the Christian era, when Mahomet and his successors had obtained a spiritual and temporal predominance in the East, the Arabians, who had always been a commercial people, became distinguished by the number, the activity, and the wealth of their merchants. They pushed their commerce from Malacca in the East, where they established a mart with some of the remotest nations of insular and continental Asia, as far as cape Corientes and the interior of Africa. This commerce was the occasion of prodigious wealth and luxury, especially in the articles of baths, palaces, and garments; but was attended, wherever it diffused itself, with consequences highly favourable to mental cultivation. [Note M.]

The commerce with the East passed, by the lapse of ages, from the Arabian to the Italian merchants. The Venetians, more especially, carried on a most advantageous trade with the Alexandrian merchants; and thus exhibited a

most curious instance of the triumph of commercial interest over religious animosity. This commerce was favourable to Italian liberty, and as such to the infant liberties of Europe. [Note N.]

Some adventurous towns in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, of which Bremen was the most considerable, having entered into commercial speculations, formed a league, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, to protect their property and navigation against oppressive feudal chiefs by land, and against pirates by sea. This league was denominated the Hans Town Confederacy, and comprehended the most considerable commercial cities in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Poland, England, France, &c. The jealousy of the sovereigns soon circumscribed the political powers of this confederacy; but its commercial influence was exceedingly great, its members taking the commodities of the East and South, and diffusing them over all the rest, but especially the North of Europe. [Note O.]

The third period in the history of commerce commenced A. D. 1494, when Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese commander, performed the first direct voyage from Europe to India. Previously to that event, the Portuguese had been, during several centuries, creeping along the shores of Africa; till at length they had completed the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. De Gama having met with a friendly Moor on the Eastern coast of Africa, who served as a pilot to India, visited the southern part of the nearer Peninsula, where he had some communications with a great prince, called the Samorin. The Moors, however, soon contrived to sow dissensions between the natives and the new settlers; who, consequently, became enemies. The Portuguese contributed their utmost assistance to such of the five subjugated princes, as were disaffected to the Samorin's authority. A war ensued, which laid the foundation of the Portuguese empire in India. That empire was once very extensive, they being the only Europeans who had any right, according to the ecclesiastical laws of the times, to plant colonies or make conquests in the East. But however widely its branches might be spread, there were certain worms at the root of the Eastern empire of Portugal, which caused it rapidly to wither and decay. The circumstances which mark the history of Portugal, will account in a great degree for the character of its inhabitants. They had been long subject to the Moors, from whom they had contracted a disposition to Asiatic sloth and luxury; their frequent wars with that people had produced the most violent hatred both to the theological tenets and persons of the Mahometans, and indeed of all who

were not of their faith ; and the very splendour of their victories in their own country, and of their foreign discoveries, tempted them to indulge in habits of prodigality, luxury, and almost boundless expense. When, therefore, European rivals sprung up in the East, their political weakness soon appeared.

The first European rivals of the Portuguese, who appeared in the East, were a company of Spaniards, conducted thither by Ferdinand Magellan, who sailed on this expedition, A. D. 1510. That able commander had been engaged in the Portuguese service, but had quitted it in disgust, on account of his achievements in the reduction of the Moluccas, not having been sufficiently rewarded. Pope Alexander VIII. had already drawn a boundary line, and had decreed that whatever lands should be discovered to the East of that line, should belong to the Portuguese, and all to the West should be subject to the Spaniards. Magellan represented to the Spaniards, that if they would submit to his management, he would conduct a fleet by the West of India, to the remoter regions of the East ; so that they might obtain the most valuable portion of oriental commerce, without transgressing the papal prohibition. His terms were accepted ; a fleet was committed to his care ; he conducted them across the Atlantic, through the straits which continue to bear his name, and thence, by one of the most extraordinary exertions of naval skill and courage that was ever made, to the Philippine islands, where he was slain in a conflict with the natives, occasioned by the defence of a native prince, who had lately embraced the Christian religion. From this time, the Spaniards have put in their claim to the Philippines, of which they still continue in possession ; but their rivalry is of small comparative importance, as their national character is subject to the same disadvantages with that of the Portuguese ; and their commerce has hitherto been confined to the single vessel that annually trades from Acapulco to Manilla.

The Dutch were far more formidable rivals of the Portuguese in the East. The inhabitants of the Netherlands had been for several ages distinguished by their improvements in manufactures, and their spirit of commercial enterprize. They had been possessed of considerable provincial privileges, whilst they formed a part of the Spanish empire. But when, after the death of Charles V. in consequence of grievous oppressions, they were determined to throw off the Spanish yoke, they became involved in a long and bloody contest, for the recovery of their civil liberties. In the progress of this war, their continental intercourse having been greatly interrupted, they experienced a prodigious loss of property, and were desirous of procuring some reimbursements by trading to

the rich countries of India, then claimed by the Portuguese, who at that time were subject to the Spanish crown. Several abortive attempts were made to discover a North East passage. At length Cornelius Houtman, one of the numerous Dutch mariners that had been repeatedly carried captive to Lisbon, obtained, (A. D. 1596.) the requisite information concerning Indian affairs, and conducted the first Dutch fleet to India. As the power of Holland is principally naval, greater possession have subsequently been obtained among the islands than on the continental provinces of India. The principles on which their empire was established, are, in many instances, diametrically opposite to those of the Portuguese. The Dutch have disregarded splendour, and ostentation; they have occasionally submitted to the most humiliating conditions, and have uniformly practised the strictest industry and economy. They have been charged with a settled dereliction of the interests of the people, whom they have governed; but this charge is not just, for it is easy to discover, in the account of almost all their establishments, that very considerable pains have been taken to promote both Christianity and civilization among the tribes which became subject to their command.

While the Dutch thus attempted a North-east passage to India, the English endeavoured to discover a North-western course by Hudson and Baffins' Bay. Discouraged, however, by frequent disappointments, they resolved to pursue their passage by the Cape of Good Hope. After many adventures, they have, as every one knows, established themselves chiefly on the continent of India, where their subjects are far more numerous than their fellow countrymen at home. [Note P.]

The great variety of subjects which have passed in review in this lecture, renders it impossible to treat minutely of every species of commerce. We may, however, slightly notice, that the American trade is principally of two kinds; the colonial, which is carried on with the mother country, and is subject to certain limits; and that of the United States, which extends itself freely, as far as the capital of the trader permits.

The wealth of nations, in a commercial point of view, may also be considered as of three kinds, viz. *raw materials*, *perfected commodities*, and *machinery*. 1. By *raw material*, is here meant, that out of which goods may be manufactured, or wealth gathered, or which might be brought into a more perfect state previously to its being put in the possession of strangers. 2. The *perfected commodity*,

is that which its name implies, the commodity wrought by artificial means to the highest degree of perfection, before it is given to the public. 3. Machinery is a term, which is here used to express all that *operative force*, which is added to human strength. Pursuing this arrangement, we may safely assert, that it is most conducive to the wealth of a country, that its exports should consist of perfected commodities; and that if raw material be abundantly exported, it implies an imperfect state of commercial society.

The objects of commercial men are threefold; so simple, that to repeat them may seem to be only to utter truisms; yet so important, that they will serve to account for even the most intricate and perplexed of human transactions. 1. To procure raw articles cheaply. 2. To work them at little expense. 3. To sell them at as high a price as possible. From the second of these principles, it has resulted, that where commerce prevails, machinery is introduced, and those distinctions of casts or of companies, which formerly attracted the most general regard, are either laid aside or comparatively disregarded. From the third, we derive the most important consequences; not indeed the *establishment* of postage, or the construction of public roads, (for both these appear first to have originated in military designs,) but it has unquestionably led to the *advancement* of both these valuable improvements, much nearer to perfection than they would otherwise have attained. Connected with roads are inns, or public buildings, erected for the accommodation of travellers. These will be found to differ according to the degrees of civilization, or the stages of society, through which the inhabitants of a country may have passed. If the country have passed through pastoral, to agricultural and commercial life, the inns are generally mere caravansaries, calculated for the accommodation of those, who travel with their camels and tents, bringing with them their own provisions. On this principle, we may account for the inferior state of such accommodations, in the Spanish peninsula. On the contrary, where civilization has pursued its other directions, the inns are temporary homes, furnished with every suitable accommodation, as in our own country.

Another result also, of the same principle is, the invention of money or the use of coin. Were it possible to obtain a correct and perfect history of money, it would go far to furnish us with the history of mind. In the rude infancy of society, we should see the inhabitants hastily bartering their commodities, without regard to any thing, but the caprice of the moment. In process of time, reason would be consulted, and criteria would be invented, by which the value

of goods would be estimated. Three kinds of articles appear to have been used for this purpose ; slaves, cattle, and metals. Slaves, even in our own country, were once such customary articles of exchange, that they were called living money ; and, in some parts of Africa, the value of a slave is regarded as a sort of comparative or standard term in pecuniary arrangements. It is from cattle, and other kindred words, that *pecunia*, *pecuniary*, and similar words, have been derived ; and it is remarkable, that in the Hebrew language the same term signifies "a piece of silver," and "a sheep." As, however, it is in the nature of things impossible, that either sheep or slaves should be made of equal value, metals appeared more suited to commercial purposes : since it is easy, by having the same metals mixed up with similar alloy, and the work executed in a similar style, to produce any number of pieces precisely equal in value. These considerations naturally inclined the balance in favour of metals, of which gold, silver, and copper have been generally preferred. These metals were at first disposed of in pieces of unequal weight, so that the merchants found it necessary to weigh them against each other ; but, at length, the idea occurred, that it was desirable to have them in bars, or other pieces of uniform size and weight, that thus every purpose might be answered by tale. At length round pieces were formed, and these were stamped with some impress by the government of the country, in which they were circulated. If that government prospered, and made a general advancement in affluence and arts, the standard became more refined, and the workmanship more elegant : if, in either of these respects, the country declined, the declension was soon visible in the increased alloy and decreased beauty of its coinage. In this way, the history of mind might be traced more extensively than is now possible, unless a perfect collection of money could be obtained.

The disposition to sell at as high a price as possible, has in a less perfect state of society, given rise to chartered companies and different species of monopoly : but these, (with a few exceptions, into the propriety of which we have no disposition at present to enter,) have now passed away, as incompatible with the general interests of commerce. [Note Q.]

The consequences of commerce to society, whether beneficial or pernicious, are very important. Those of the first class, are many and great. How many advantages persons of the plainest habits derive from commerce, would appear very striking, if they were but to review a catalogue of the different articles which they eat, drink, wear, or employ, in the course of twenty-four hours ;

the countries in which they are produced, and the means by which they have been procured. There are, also, benefits of an higher order. Commerce, more than any thing else, delivers men from many of the narrow prejudices, by which different nations and parties are too frequently separated from each other. Man is still an imitative being; but he no longer confines his attention to the animals, or his personal ancestors; he copies whatever he sees deserving of imitation, among any of his fellow creatures. His travels and labours are necessarily attended with a prodigious increase of knowledge; and the dissolution of prejudice, to which we have just adverted, is abundantly favourable to the latter.

Commerce contributes also to the well-being of civil society, as it creates a new kind of influence to counterbalance that of antient families, or feudal domination: it inspires a large portion of the community with the love of liberty, and a solicitude, lest that which has been obtained and preserved with so much difficulty, should ever be lost. At the same time, where commerce prevails, a regard is paid to public safety, which is connected with a strong desire to preserve and perpetuate the tranquillity of the state; since it is known that, in proportion as civil government is disturbed, not only the security of property, but even life itself, is endangered. Thus commerce tends at once to ensure public tranquillity, enlarges the mind by presenting a vast accumulation of knowledge, and supplies an almost endless variety of personal comforts. [Note R.]

Commerce, however, has its evils, no less than its benefits. These diffuse themselves through all the various orders in society. Some mercantile employments are attended with a constant waste of human life, from the unhealthful nature of the air which is breathed, or the operations which are carried on by those who are engaged in them. Vast numbers of the lives of mariners used formerly to be sacrificed in the prosecution of distant voyages, from which few returned in safety. The condition of a person, without education, and brought up from infancy in the walls of a manufactory, is degraded beyond example. The savage is taught by observation, the shepherd by his wanderings, or the tales of his ancestors; but the person whose life has passed away in these miserable abodes and occupations, sees nothing beyond a very narrow limit, has his mental powers enervated by a constant routine of secular employments, —and, being surrounded only by such degraded mortals as himself, hears nothing but oaths and obscenity; and knows no gratification, but that which is supposed to arise from sensual indulgence. Besides, commerce, by surrounding us with such numerous patterns for imitation, disorders the stability

of the judgment. Fashion must be perpetually changed ; and did these changes of fashion respect only the cut of a coat, or the formation of a head-dress, they would be comparatively harmless ; but the love of novelty is apt to affect the most solid principles, and important reasonings, of the human mind. As it is a great object of commerce to procure wealth, so that is apt, in a commercial country, to become the consideration that swallows up every other ; hence a spirit of venality is induced, and pervades all orders of society, and men are disposed to sell both themselves and their country for pecuniary considerations. Hence may be naturally expected to proceed, a disposition to revere the prosperous, and look with contempt on the children of adversity ; hence, in a word, a regard to personal interest, more strict and calculating than can easily exist in any other state of society, may be reasonably expected to characterize a highly commercial country.

Such are the benefits, and such the evils, which may be justly expected to result from commercial habits and occupations ; and it is a source of great satisfaction to consider, that while the former are permanent, the latter are but temporary in their nature. Already many of the ills of commerce have either receded or entirely vanished. Philosophy has done something, and will undoubtedly do more, to remove the unhealthfulness of many employments. The world is navigated with scarcely a greater waste of life, than would occur if the individuals thus employed were at their homes. The morality of the Christian religion opposes the strongest barriers to venality, and all the other moral ills connected with commerce. Education has entered, and is making rapid progress in manufactories. Indeed, it is impossible to reflect upon the present state of the public mind in Great Britain, without feeling a high degree of satisfaction. Here the contest is no longer, "whether good shall be done," but *how* the greatest measure of it can be produced, with the slightest mixture of evil :—Not, "whether man should live for himself alone," but how he can most effectually contribute to the general increase of human happiness ! Blessed is the country, which is the scene of such a delightful contest ! If Father Paul said, with his dying breath, of the Venetian republic, "*Esto perpetua*," "*let it remain for ever*," surely we may apply the same sentiment to our beloved country,—"Let Britain remain for ever!"—the source of knowledge, of virtue, and of happiness, to the world, when all the exquisite labours of Grecian art, and all the proud monuments of Roman magnificence, shall have fallen into oblivion !



Notes

TO THE SECOND LECTURE.

Note A.] *ORIGIN of human employments.*—“ Among the modes of accounting for the varieties of national character, none seems more obvious than the difference of employment. Hunters, shepherds, the members of an agricultural and commercial society, have all been supposed to possess a peculiar character, derived from these various modes of procuring subsistence.

“ Hunting nations, indeed, very generally display the same free, fierce, and rude character. Their circumstances must always be very nearly the same. The number thus supported will not much vary; there will be in general the same poverty, the same absence of refinement, and freedom from subjection. Some tribes in this state, however, (as the Ostiaks and Samoïades,) are mild and quiet, and a number of minuter distinctions will hereafter occur. But it is the pastoral state which has been supposed to exhibit the most marked features, which has been peculiarly famed for innocence, and the indulgence of gentle affections. Nor will I wholly controvert this representation, though it has doubtless been greatly heightened by poetical fancy, and by association with the charms of natural scenery. But it will apply only to the shepherds who inhabit the remoter and sequestered districts of a civilized country. Restrained from violence by the coercion of regular government, removed to a distance from the bustling scene, and the contagion of criminal passions, they exhibit one of the most interesting forms of primitive and uncorrupted simplicity. But, when freed from restraint, and collected into large bodies, (for which their mode of life affords ample facility,) their character is widely different. The great pastoral nations, the Scythians, and the northern people of antient Europe, have been always numbered among the most ferocious destroyers of the human race. The Giaggs and other tribes in the interior of Africa, so noted for unparalleled ferocity, are tribes of shepherds. The Arabians, hereditary robbers and plunderers, belong to the same class. It is evident, therefore, that there is nothing in the mere occupation of pasturage, tending to form a mild and peaceful character.

“ Agriculture has a strong tendency to insulate men, to fix them down to one spot; to check numerous and tumultuous assemblages. It is among the class devoted to this employment, accordingly, that the primitive character has been longest retained. To produce it, however, the same circumstances must concur as in a society of shepherds; yet the wars of an agricultural nation, being periodically interrupted by the necessity of cultivating the ground, are seldom so long continued, and so destructive as those of pastoral tribes.

“ The manufacturing and commercial state is, of all others, most inimical to simplicity. It crowds men into cities, multiplies wealth, and occasions the most widely-extended and frequent communication. The only check which accompanies it, is that above alluded to, arising from the increased necessity of labour. Hence, however, it is a general complaint, that commerce, while it augments the wealth and prosperity of a nation, is ruinous to its morals. Yet we must observe, that before this state of things arrives at its height, the improving process has already made a considerable progress, and will be continually making more; a process which these pursuits have, in their ultimate effects, a powerful tendency to promote.” (Murray’s Enquiry, p. 157—161.)

Note B.] *Abandonment of civilization.*—The following narrative exhibits some proof of an occasional retrocession in society. “ In that part of the country between the Jaik and Sir, which is inhabited by the Eluths, towards the borders of the Kassatcha Orda, who possess the other part, the Russians, about 1714, discovered a town quite deserted, in the midst of vast sandy grounds, eleven days’ journey to the South-west of Yamisha, and eight to the West of Sempalat. It is about half a league in compass, with walls five feet thick, and sixteen high; the foundation free-stone, and superstructure brick, flanked with towers in several

places. The houses were all built with sun-burnt bricks, and side-posts of wood, much after the common fashion in Poland. The better sort had several chambers. There were likewise great brick buildings, with each a tower; which, in all likelihood, served for temples. The buildings were in pretty good condition, without the least appearance of violence having been used to them.

"In most of the houses was found a great quantity of writings in rolls. One was in China ink and silk paper, white and thick. The leaves were two feet long, and nine inches broad, written on both sides; and the lines ran from the right to the left across the page. The second sort was engrossed upon fine blue silk paper, in gold and silver. The lines were written length-ways, from right to left, and varnished over. The first sort were found to be in the Mongul language; the second in that of Tangut or Tibet; both treating of religious matters. Since that period, two other towns were discovered, deserted in the same manner, by the Eluths; probably on account of their wars with the Monguls. The discovery made in 1721 was much of the same kind: some rustics, sent from Tobolsk, by the governor of Siberia, privately to look for ruins and antient sepulchres, found certain images of gold, silver, and brass, in all the tombs: and, having advanced 120 German miles towards the Caspian sea, met with the ruins of splendid buildings; among which were some chambers under ground, the floors and sides of which consisted of shining stone. They saw here and there black ebony chests; which, instead of treasure, contained writings or books. Of these they carried away only five leaves; one whereof, being tolerably well preserved, was made public. The learned of Europe, to whom the emperor Peter I. also communicated these writings, were much puzzled about them, but were immediately known by Messieurs Freret and Fourmont, of the academy of Inscriptions at Paris, to be the language and character of Tibet. They found it to be a funeral sermon, with a moral on the life to come, extremely well handled." U. H.

[Note C.] *Original account of Alexander Selkirk, from the voyage of captain Woods Rogers.*—"Even the pinnace delays returning, on which we put up a signal for her to come back, when she soon came off with abundance of cray-fish, bringing also a man clothed in goat-skins, who seemed wilder than the original owners of his apparel. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotsman, who had been left there by captain Stradling in the Cinque-ports, and had lived alone on the island for four years and four months.

"He told us that he was born in Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left here was a difference with captain Stradling; which, together with the ship being leaky, made him at first rather willing to stay here than to continue in the ship; and when at last he was inclined to have gone, the captain would not receive him. He had been at the island before to take in wood and water, when two of the men were left upon it for six months, the ship being chased away by two French South-sea ships; but the Cinque-ports returned and took them off, at which time he was left. He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock and some powder and bullets, some tobacco, a knife, a Bible, with some other books, and his mathematical instruments. He diverted himself, and provided for his sustenance as well as he could; but had much ado to bear up against melancholy for the first eight months, and was sore distressed at being left alone in such a desolate place. He built himself two huts of pimento trees, thatched with long grass, and lined with goat-skins, killing goats as he needed them with his gun, so long as his powder lasted, which was only about a pound at first. When that was all spent, he procured fire by rubbing two sticks of pimento wood together. He slept in his larger hut, and cooked his victuals in the smaller, which was at some distance; and employed himself in reading, praying, and singing psalms, so that he said he was a better Christian during his solitude, than he had ever been before, or than, he was afraid, he ever should be again.

"At first he never ate but when constrained by hunger, partly from grief, and partly for want of bread and salt. Neither did he then go to bed till he could watch no longer, the pimento wood serving him both for fire and candle, as it burned very clear, and refreshed him by its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but would not eat them for want of salt, as they occasioned a looseness; except cray-fish, which are as large as our lobsters, and are very good. These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats' flesh, of which he made good broth, for they are not so rank as our goats. Having kept an account, he said he had killed 500 goats while on the island, besides having caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let them go. When his powder failed, he ran down the goats by speed of foot; for his mode of living, with continual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he could run with wonderful swiftness through the woods, and up the hills and rocks, as we experienced in catching goats for us. We had a bull-dog, which we sent along with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats; but he outstript our dog and men, caught the goats and brought them to us on his back. On one occasion, his agility in pursuing a goat had nearly cost him his life; as, while pursuing it with great eagerness, he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, being concealed by bushes, so that he fell with the goat down the precipice to a great depth, and was so bruised and stunned by the fall, that he lay senseless, as he supposed, for twenty-four hours; and when he recovered his senses, found the goat dead under him. He was then scarcely able to crawl to his hut, about a mile distant, and could not stir out again for ten days.

"He came at length to relish his meat well enough without bread and salt. In the proper season he had plenty of good turnips, which had been sown there by captain Dampier's men, and had now spread over several acres of ground. He had also abundance of cabbage, from the cabbage-palms, and seasoned his

food with the fruit of the pimento, which is the same with Jamaica pepper, called *malageta*, which was good for expelling wind and curing gripes. He soon wore out all his shoes and other clothes, by running in the woods; and, being forced to shift without, his feet became so hard that he ran about every where without inconvenience; and it was some time after he came to us before he could wear shoes, as his feet swelled when he first began again to wear them. After he had got the better of his melancholy, he sometimes amused himself with carving his name on the trees, together with the date of his being left there, and the time of his solitary residence. At first he was much pestered with cats and rats, which had bred there in great numbers, from some of each species which had got on the shore from ships that had wooded and watered at the island. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes when he was asleep, which obliged him to cherish the cats, by feeding them with goats' flesh, so that many of them became so tame, that they used to lie beside him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He also tamed some kids, and for his diversion, would at times sing and dance with them and his cats; so that, by the favour of Providence, and the vigour of his youth, for he was now only thirty years of age, he came at length to conquer all the inconveniences of his solitude, and to be quite easy in his mind.

"When his clothes were worn out, he made himself a coat and a cap of goat skins, which he stitched together with thongs of the same, cut out with his knife, using a nail by way of a needle or awl. When his knife was worn out, he made others as well as he could of some old hoops that had been left on the shore, which he beat out thin between two stones, and ground to an edge on a smooth stone. Having some linen cloth, he sewed himself some shirts, by means of a nail for a needle, stitching them with worsted, which he pulled out on purpose from his old stockings; and he had the last of his shirts on when we found him. At his first coming on board, he had so much forgotten his language, for want of use, that we could scarcely understand him, as he seemed to speak his words only by halves. We offered him a dram, which he refused, not having drank any thing but water all the time he had been on the island; and it was some time before he could relish our provisions. He could give us no farther account of the productions of the island than has been already noticed, except that there were some very good black plums, but hard to come at, as the trees which bear them grow on high mountains and steep rocks. There are many pimento trees, some of them being sixty feet high, and two yards round; and we saw cotton trees still higher, and near four fathoms round the stems. The climate is excellent, and the trees and grass are quite verdant the whole year. The winter lasts no longer than June and July, and is not then severe, there being then only slight frosts and a little hail, but sometimes very great rains. The heat of summer is equally moderate; there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other beasts besides goats, bred there from a few brought by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who settled there with a few families, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards, when they removed to that country as more profitable. This island, however, might maintain a good many people; and is capable of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged. This release of Selkirk took place on the 2nd of February, 1709."

Indian cruelties.—Appalling as the representation given both in the text (page 33—35) and in the following extract, of the barbarous practices of savage nations, may be to every humane mind, it is of importance that they should be known, in order that Christian philanthropy may be excited to more vigorous efforts, for the amelioration of those portions of the earth which are still exposed to all those horrors, and filled with such "habitations of cruelty."

"For the few who survive this scene of destruction, a more terrible fate is reserved. To men, animated by this unrelenting vengeance, death is not enough. This last act is soon over, and then the victim is insensible, and seems to have escaped out of their hands. They wish to make him, before dying, endure something worse than death; to keep him suffering under their eye; to procure, for their revenge, a lengthened and high wrought gratification. The first mode of prolonging this enjoyment, is by exercising indignities on the lifeless body: this is practised by the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego. But the North American tribes have framed an elaborate system of torture, with the view of inflicting on their victim the utmost agony of which human nature is susceptible. In this cruelty, nothing is more remarkable than the horrible deliberation with which it is exercised. It is not in the heat of battle, or the first intoxication of victory. A long course of ceremonies must be previously performed. The warrior carries home his prisoners, and places them at the disposal of the supreme council of the nation. By so doing, he becomes entitled to the warmest gratitude from them, and still more from the female part of the society, whose most earnest petition to those who set out on an expedition, is to bring them home captives to torture. The villages, however, through which the prisoners pass, are not altogether excluded from this high gratification. They are allowed to inflict as much bodily pain as is compatible with the safety of life and limb. To maim a captive, would be doing a serious injury to the warrior, whose property he is supposed to be, and whose highest pride is to present him to the council in a sound and entire state. After having done so, his connection with him ceases; the sole disposal of this species of booty rests with the national council. The female heads of families then prefer their claims; which are, a husband, a father, or a brother, who has fallen in battle, and whose blood is yet unap-peased. A distribution being made upon this principle, the matron, to whom each captive is assigned, becomes the absolute mistress of his destiny. She may, and generally does, give him up to be tortured; but if there be any *blank* to be filled up in her family, and if this motive of prudence prevail over

her fiercer passions, she then takes off his chains, and sends him to be washed in the nearest river; after which, he becomes a member of the family, or tribe, and is, in every respect, on a footing with the rest. Even when her determination is more fatal, she does not proceed at once to the work of death. She *allows* him a short space of life; and, during that period, practises a singular refinement of cruelty. By the influence of the most powerful contrasts, she studies to augment the horrors of his approaching destiny. She lavishes on him every means of enjoyment; she treats him with studied kindness; she calls him father, brother, or son, according to the name of the relation whose death she is to revenge on him. In some tribes, (the practice is still more general in South America,) he receives a wife, who lives with him for this short space, and treats him with the utmost tenderness. But the destined day at length arrives. Then, before abandoning him to the torture, she invokes the shade of him whose blood has long been crying for vengeance:—‘Approach, and be appeased: here is your victim. His flesh shall be torn from the bones. He shall expire, by my hands, in the most frightful tortures. Complain no longer; you shall now be satisfied.’ Then follows that dreadful scene, so often described, when every extreme of ferocity is exhausted on the unhappy sufferer; while he tranquilly raises his song of death, boasting his own great actions, insulting and defying his tormentors. Thus he continues, often for many successive days, singing amidst tortures inexpressible. Not a sigh, not a groan escapes him; even his countenance remains unchanged. The highest ambition of his tormentors is to wrest from him some symptom of sensibility. His death is a poor revenge, unless they can also deprive him of his honour, which is all centered in the maintenance of the most profound insensibility. They watch for these symptoms with the most eager curiosity; and as soon as they begin to appear in the slightest degree, (for on this subject their penetration is infinite,) shouts of inhuman triumph proclaim their success.

“The practice of studied torture seems almost peculiar to North America. Among most other tribes in this stage of society, revenge is gratified by a crime still more revolting to nature. Prisoners are not tortured, but they are devoured; and man, losing every thing of humanity but the form, feeds with delight on the slaughtered corpse of his fellow-man. I am disposed to suspect, that this enormity is general among all nations during a certain period of their annals. It seems to be prior to the North American practice, prompted by the same unbounded ferocity, operating in a ruder and less artificial form. From some expressions, which are still used by these tribes, there seems reason to think, that it may once have prevailed among them, and that their torture has only been a gradual refinement upon it. It is practised through the greater part of South America; it has evidently been universal over the South Sea islands, since even in those where it is most completely eradicated, ceremonies are still practised, which clearly indicate its former prevalence. The writers of antiquity lived among nations whose civilization had long been sufficient to banish this practice, and who maintained little intercourse with those ruder tribes, among whom it might still have been found. We are informed, however, that it was practised among the more savage Scythian tribes, and was not altogether obliterated even among the more polished Massagetes; that it was ascribed to the Scots, Irish, perhaps even to the Britons, that it was practised by the early inhabitants of Greece. The tradition of its former existence in Sicily, probably gave rise to the fable concerning the savage feasts of the Cyclops. All these concurring testimonies seem sufficient to prove, that cannibalism, if not universal, was at least very widely diffused.” (Murray’s Enquiry, p. 262—267.)

“It would appear, however, that they consider it (that is, cannibalism) chiefly as an expression of the direst ferocity, as the means of inflicting on their victim the most abhorred of all possible fates. To devour the flesh of their enemy, to drink his blood, appears to them the most wished-for consummation of their rooted vengeance.

“Among some of the South American tribes, this treatment of the captive is ingeniously converted into a species of mental torture, by the accumulation of every horror that can arise from the anticipation of his destiny. As soon as he is brought home, preparations begin for the feast, which is to celebrate his doom. The utensils that are to be employed in it are made new for the express purpose; the fatal club is shaped and painted; an immense quantity of chica, their favourite liquor, is prepared. All these processes are performed in his presence, and are studiously brought under his eye. He is well aware for what they are destined: but they apparently make no impression on him; he views them as things in which he has not the remotest concern. His honour consists in manifesting the most profound indifference to his approaching fate. At length the feast begins; he is admitted to it; he is the gayest of the company, the loudest in boasting of his own great actions, particularly those performed against the nation by whose warriors he is surrounded. After a few days of feasting and intoxication, the appointed day arrives. Then, early in the morning, he is placed on a scaffold, in the view of the whole multitude; and a person holds up before him, for several successive hours, the instrument by which he is to be slain. This person is not the executioner; that office is solicited by their bravest warriors, and considered as one of the highest national honours. In due time, however, he too steps forth, attired in his most splendid war dress, and his face barbarously painted. Then, taking the club from him who holds it, he advances to the captive, saying, ‘Here am I, that have killed many of thy nation, and will kill thee.’—To which he proudly answers, ‘You do well: I have slain multitudes of your countrymen. I have devoured them. You do well; but my death will be revenged.’ The executioner then strikes the fatal blow; the victim falls; and the multitudes flock with eagerness to share the inhuman repast.

“Although revenge seems thus to have been the original motive of this atrocity, though this food seems

rarely resorted to from the absolute want of any other, yet it seems afterwards to become the object of a horrible preference in point of taste. What foundation there may be for this preference, no one, I suppose, will feel any curiosity to enquire. Probably it has been greatly heightened from being associated with the idea of that prowess and victory, by which this horrible repast has been preceded. The tribes, however, among whom it is practised, are often represented as boasting of its superiority to other food. A chief of Nootka Sound had carefully denied his attachment to it, understanding that it would be offensive to his English visitors. But, happening to receive a wound in the leg, the view of the blood proved too strong a temptation to him; and, applying his mouth, he sucked it up, with exclamations of delight." *Ibid.* p. 269—272.

[Note D.] *Office of scheik.*—The scheik, says Volney, with whom I resided in the country of Gaza, about the end of 1784, passed for one of the most powerful of those districts; yet it did not appear to me that his expenditure was greater than that of an opulent farmer. His personal effects, consisting in a few pelisses, carpets, arms, horses, and camels, could not be estimated at more than 50,000 livres, (a little above £2000,) and it must be observed, that in this calculation, four mares of the breed of racers, are valued at 6000 livres, (£250,) and each camel at £10 sterling. We must not, therefore, when we speak of the Bedouins, affix to the words prince and lord, the ideas they usually convey; we should come nearer the truth, by comparing them to substantial farmers, in mountainous countries, whose simplicity they resemble in their dress, as well as in their domestic life and manners. A scheik, who has the command of 500 horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him his barley and chopped straw. In his tent, his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of the victuals. His daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from the fountain. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis. But it must be owned that it is difficult to form a just idea of them without having ourselves been eye-witnesses. Volney.

[Note E.] *Hospitality of pastoral tribes.*—Notwithstanding the disposition to hoard which more or less prevails in all pastoral countries, the shepherds are strongly disposed to exercise, on all suitable occasions, a degree of hospitality which is scarcely known in a more advanced state of society. This will appear from the following accounts by La Roque.

"When strangers enter a village, where they know nobody, they enquire for the Menzil, (the Menzil signifies the place destined for the reception of strangers, and often a lower apartment of the scheik's house,) and desire to speak with the scheik, who is *as the lord of it*, or at least represents his person and the body of the community: after saluting him, they signify their want of a dinner, or of supping and lodging in the village. The sheik says, They are welcome, and that *they could not do him a greater pleasure*. He then marches at the head of the strangers, and conducts them to the Menzil, where also they may alight at once if the sheik is not at home, and ask for every thing they want. But they seldom have occasion for all this; for as soon as the people of the village see any strangers coming, they inform the scheik of it, who goes to meet them, accompanied by some peasants, or by some of his domestics; and, having saluted them, asks if they would dine in the village, or whether they choose to stay the whole night there: if they answer that they would only eat a morsel and go forward, and that they choose to stay under some tree a little out of the village, the sheik goes, or sends his people into the village, to cause a collation to be brought, and in a little time they return with eggs, *butter*, curds, honey, olives, fruit fresh or dried, according to the season, when they have not time to cook any meat." He afterwards tells us, that if it is evening, and the strangers would lodge in the village, that the women belonging to the scheik's house having observed the number of the guests, "never fail to cause fowls, sheep, lambs, or a calf, to be killed, according to the quantity of meat which will be wanted for the entertainment of the guests, and of those that are to bear them company; and quickly make it into soup, roast it, and form out of it many other ragouts, after their way, which they send to the Menzil by the scheik's servants, in wooden bowls, which they place on a great round straw mat, that usually serves them for a table.—These dishes being set in order, with many others, in which are eggs, cheese, fruit, salad, sour curdled milk, olives, and all that they have to treat their guests with, which they set before them at once, that *every one may eat as he likes*; the sheik begs of the strangers to sit round the mat, he himself sitting down with them, together with the other peasants of fashion belonging to the village, in order to do them honour.—They make no use of knives at table, the meat being all cut into little bits."

[Note F.] *Of the Tartars and their houses.*—They have no permanent city, and they are ignorant of the future. They divide all Scythia among them; and each leader, according to the number of his followers, knows the boundaries of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his flocks in winter and summer, and in spring and autumn. In winter they descend into the warmer regions of the South, and in summer they travel towards the colder countries of the North. Such pastures as have no water, are reserved for winter use, when there is snow on the ground, as the snow there serves instead of water.

The houses in which they sleep are founded on a round structure of wattled rods, and the roof is formed of wickers, meeting above in a small roundel, from which arises a neck like a chimney, all of which they cover with white felt; and they often cover over the felt with lime, or white earth, and powdered bones, to

make it bright: sometimes their houses are black; and the felt about the neck of the dome is decorated with a variety of pictures. Before the door, likewise, they hang a felt, ornamented with painting; and they employ much coloured felt, painted with vines, trees, birds, and beasts, for decorating their dwellings. Some of these houses are so large as to measure thirty feet in breadth. I once measured the distance between the wheel ruts of one of their waggons, to be twenty feet; and when the house was upon the waggon, it spread beyond the wheels at least five feet on each side. I have counted twenty-two bullocks dragging one waggon, surmounted by a house; eleven in one row, according to the breadth of the waggon, and other eleven before these. The axle of this waggon was very large, like the mast of a ship; and one man stood in the door of the house upon the waggon, urging on the oxen. They likewise make quadrangular structures of small split wicket, like large chests, and frame for them an arched lid or cover of similar twigs, having a small door at the front end; and they cover their chest or house with black felt, smeared over with suet or sheeps' milk, to prevent the rain from penetrating; and these are likewise decorated with paintings or feathers. In these they put all their household goods and treasure; and they bind these upon higher carts, drawn by camels, that they may be able to cross rivers without injuring their contents. These chests are never taken down from the carts to which they belong. When their dwelling-houses are unloaded from the waggons, their doors are always turned to the South; and the carts, with the chests which belong to each house, are drawn up in two rows, one on each side of the dwelling, at about the distance of a stone's throw.

The married women get most beautiful carts made for themselves, which I am unable to describe without the aid of painting, and which I would have drawn for your majesty, if I had possessed sufficient talents. One rich Moal, or Tartar, will have from a hundred to two hundred such carts, with chests. Baatu has sixteen wives, each of whom has one large house, besides several small ones, serving as chambers for her female attendants, and which are placed behind the large house; and to the large house of each wife there belong two hundred chest-carts. When the camp is formed, the house of the first wife is placed on the West, and all the rest extend in one line eastwards, so that the last wife is on the East, or left of all. And between the station of each wife there is the distance of a stone's throw; so that the court of a rich Moal appears like a large city, but in which there are very few men. One girl is able to lead twenty or thirty carts; for the ground being quite plain, they fasten the carts, whether drawn by camels or oxen, behind each other, and the girl sits on the front of the foremost cart of the string, directing the cattle, while all the rest follow with an equable motion. If they come to any difficult passage, the carts are untied from each other, and conducted across singly; and they travel at a very slow pace, only so fast as an ox or a camel can easily walk.

[Note G.] *On the Egyptian, Hindoo, and Chinese customs.*—The Egyptians are said to have been the first who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life easy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and institutions were not only highly reverenced by those who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the Grecians, whose first sages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themselves therewith, and borrowed thence the best part of those which they afterwards established at home.

The crown of Egypt was hereditary: their first kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleasure, subject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themselves to the established laws of the land; not only in the management of public affairs, but even in their most private habits. No slave bought with money, or servant born in the house, was admitted into their service; but they were attended by the sons of the priests of most distinguished birth; who, after having had a suitable education, were, at the age of twenty, placed about the king's person; that, being waited on both day and night, by men of such extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majesty, and be in the less danger of falling into any vicious excess; which princes seldom do, unless they find, among those who approach their persons, encouragers of debauchery, and ministers of their passions.

There were stated hours of night, as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indispensably obliged to give attention to business and serious employment. When he arose early in the morning, the first thing he did, was to peruse the public dispatches and letters which came from several parts of his dominions, that so he might be well acquainted with the state and affairs of his kingdom. Then, bathing himself, putting on splendid attire, and assuming the ensigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to sacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, the chief priest, in the presence of the king and the assistants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and prosperity of the king, who governed according to justice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occasion he enlarged on his royal virtues, observing that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, just, magnanimous, of strict veracity, liberal, master of himself, punishing below, and rewarding above, desert. He then spake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through surprise or ignorance; but withal absolving him, and laying the guilt on his ministers and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue, not by sharp admonitions, but by the pleasing praises due to good actions. The sacrifices being duly performed, the scribe read, out of the sacred records, such of the counsels and actions of the most famous men as might be of use in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby

be instructed to govern his state by their maxims, and regulate his admonitions in every respect, according to the established laws.

Nor was the king obliged to this exactness in public affairs only; he was so little master of himself in private, that he could not take the air, converse with his queen, bathe, or do the most indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed and set apart for this or that purpose. He was not permitted to choose what he would eat; but his table was furnished with the most simple food; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And this regulation was so moderate, that it seemed not to have been the institution of a legislature, but the prescription of an experienced physician for the preservation of health; to which it was so conducive, that one of the kings of Egypt, named Tachos, who had the best of constitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into Persia, soon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation. It is said, that there was, in a certain temple at Thebes, a pillar, with an inscription, containing imprecations against a king who had first introduced luxury among the Egyptians. *Universal History.*

"The whole body of the Hindoos was divided into four orders or casts. The highest, that of the Bramins, was devoted to religion, and the cultivation of the sciences; to the second belonged the preservation of the state; they were its sovereigns and its magistrates in peace; and its soldiers in war: the third were the husbandmen and merchants; and the fourth the artisans, labourers, and servants. These are inseparable distinctions, and descend from generation to generation. Moreover, the individuals of each class follow invariably the professions of their forefathers. Every man, from his birth, knows the function allotted to him, and fulfils with ease and satisfaction the duty which he cannot avoid. Hence arises that permanence of manners and institutions which so singularly characterizes this antient nation.

"This classification is an artificial arrangement, which could have originated only from the mind of a legislator among a polished people, completely obedient to government. It is therefore a proof of the highly civilized state of the Hindoo nation in the most remote periods of antiquity. (Tyler's Elem. of History, Vol. 2. p. 256, 257.)

"In some of the arts, the Chinese have attained to great perfection. Agriculture is carried in China to the highest pitch of improvement. There is not a spot of waste land in the whole empire, nor any which is not highly cultivated. The emperor himself is the chief of the husbandmen, and annually holds the plough with his own hands. Hence, and from the modes of economizing food, is supported the astonishing population of 333,000,000, or 260 inhabitants to every square mile of the empire. The gardening of the Chinese, and their admirable embellishment, of rural nature, have of late been the object of imitation in Europe, but with far inferior success. The manufacture of porcelain is an original invention of this people; and the Europeans, though excelling them in the form and ornament of their utensils, have never been able to attain to the excellence of the material." *Ibid* p. 271.

[Note H.] *Egyptian navigation of the Nile.* The vessels which the old Egyptians made use of on the Nile, were of a particular construction; they were made of the acantha, or Egyptian thorn; from which were cut small planks, about two cubits square; these pieces of timber the artist set together like tiles, and fastened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, he erected benches for the rowers; for they used no kind of ribs or bent timber in their work, but secured the joints of the inside with bands of papyrus. They had but one rudder, which passed quite through the keel, a mast of acantha, and sail made of the papyrus. These vessels were very unfit to go up the river against the stream, and therefore were always towed up, unless the wind proved very fresh and favourable. But when they came down the current, a hurdle of tamarisk, with a rope, was fastened to the prow; which hurdle they strengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water; a stone, pierced through the middle, of a considerable weight, was hung by another rope to the poop. By these means, the stream, bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition; the stone at the same time balancing, and keeping it steady. Of these vessels there were great numbers on the river, and some very large.

[Note I.] *Tombuctoo.*—As the internal commerce of Africa appears to have been carried on for many ages, it is reasonable to suppose that some towns or cities must have long existed where commodities would be exchanged, and civilization carried to some tolerable degree of perfection. Various reports have reached us respecting a place of this description, named Tombuctoo, but at length a very artless narrative has been received from one Robert Adams, who was wrecked on the western coast of Africa in 1810, and detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert.

Tombuctoo, according to this narrative, stands on a level plain, having a river about two hundred yards from the town on the S. E., named La Mar Zarah, three quarters of a mile in width, appearing to have but little current, and that little flowing to the S. W. The city seemed to Adams to cover as much ground as Lisbon; but the houses were not continuous, had a ground-floor only, were built of sticks, clay, and grass, and were furnished merely with the rudest domestic implements: the town had no exterior walls, or fortifications; and the population, of which our informant could not make a regular estimate, bore no corresponding proportion to the area of the place, if compared with European towns, as indeed we may infer from the nature of the houses. The river-water, although somewhat brackish, is constantly used for drink; and Adams does not believe that there were any wells at Tombuctoo. The natives have no larger boats or

vessels than canoes, of about ten feet in length, made very artificially. Of the natural productions, vegetable and animal, we will specify a few. The principal fruits are cocoa-nuts, dates, figs, pine-apples, and sweet fruit of the peach kind: the vegetables are carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes, negro-beans, and small cabbages: the grain consists chiefly of rice and guinea-corn; and the cultivation of the land is performed solely with a kind of hoe, the only implement of husbandry that Adams observed. The animals are elephants, cows, asses, camels, dromedaries, dogs, antelopes, rabbits, and a creature called heirie, resembling a very small camel, and used only for riding. Besides these, there is, in the vicinity of Tombuctoo, a most extraordinary animal named courcoo, somewhat resembling a very large dog, but having an opening or hollow on its back like a pocket, in which it carries its prey. It has short-pointed ears, and a short tail. Its skin is of an uniform reddish brown on its back, like a fox; but its belly is of a light grey colour. It will ascend trees with great agility, and gather cocoa-nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food. But it also devours goats, and even young children, and the negroes were greatly afraid of it. Its cry is like that of an owl. The natives of Tombuctoo are a stout healthy race, and are seldom sick, although they expose themselves by lying out in the sun at mid-day, when the heat is almost insupportable to a white man. It is the universal practice of both sexes to grease themselves all over with butter produced from goats' milk, which makes the skin smooth, and gives it a shining appearance. This is usually renewed every day; when neglected, the skin becomes rough, greyish, and extremely ugly. They usually sleep under cover at night; but sometimes, in the hottest weather, they will lie exposed to the night air, with little or no covering, notwithstanding that the fog which rises from the river descends like dew, and, in fact, at that season, supplies the want of rain.

All the males of Tombuctoo have an incision on their faces, from the top of the forehead down to the nose; from which proceed other lateral incisions over the eye-brows, into all of which is inserted a blue dye, produced from a kind of ooze which is found in the neighbouring mountains. The women have also incisions on their faces, but in a different fashion; the lines being from two to five in number, cut on each cheek-bone, from the temple straight downwards: they are also stained with blue. These incisions being made on the faces of both sexes when they are about twelve months old, the dyeing material which is inserted in them becomes scarcely visible as they grow up. The ornaments of the natives are similar to those which are generally found among savage tribes. It does not appear that they hold any public exercise of religion, or have any house of worship, or ever meet to pray, though some ceremony, seemingly religious, was observed at the burial of the dead: but Adams was probably not a very accurate enquirer into these matters. Park describes the natives of Soudan as saying a prayer on the appearance of the new moon; and if the religious observances of these people were so rare of occurrence, it is not surprising that they escaped the seaman's notice.

Adams says that he saw no shops at Tombuctoo. The articles brought for sale, which consisted chiefly of tobacco, tar, gunpowder, blue nankeens, blankets, earthen jars, and some silks, are obtained from the Moors, and remain in the king's house until disposed of. The only other objects of trade seemed to be slaves. Gunpowder appeared to be more valuable than gold, since a greater weight of the former was given in a barter for the two articles. The exports of this people were chiefly gold dust, ivory, gum, cowries, ostrich feathers, and goats' skins, the latter stained red and yellow. Slaves were procured by purchase, and also by predatory incursions into neighbouring states. The king of Tombuctoo seemed to be despotic, but the government was mildly exercised; he and his wife were old and grey-headed: blue nankeen, adorned with gold lace, formed the usual dress of both; and the queen was accustomed to sit and look at Adams and Stevens for hours together. The palace consisted simply of eight or ten small rooms on a ground floor, not even white washed, and built of clay and grass.

[Note K.] *Tyrian purple.*—The following remarks extracted in the New Cyclopaedia from the Memoirs of the Paris Academy of Sciences, will cast considerable light on this interesting subject. "The antient purple was tinged, or given with the blood or juice of a precious turbinated testaceous sea-fish, called by the Greeks *porphyra*, and by the Latins *purpura*; of which we have descriptions in several authors, and shells in most of the cabinets of the curios."

The method of obtaining the colour, Mr. Cole describes thus:

"The shell, which is very hard, being broken, (with the mouth of the fish downwards, so as not to crush the body,) and the broken pieces being picked off, there appears a white vein lying transversely in a little furrow or cleft next the head of the fish.

"In this vein is the purple matter lodged, some of which, being laid on linen, appears at first of a light green colour; and, if exposed to the sun, soon changes into a deep green, and in a few minutes into a sea-green, and, in a few more, into a blue; thence it soon becomes of a purplish red, and, in an hour more, of a deep purple red.

"And here the sun's action terminates; but by washing in scalding water and soap, and drying it, the colour ripens to a most bright and beautiful crimson, which will bear washing admirably without the addition of any styptic. While the cloth marked with this colour lies in the sun, it will yield a very strong and fetid smell, as if garlic and assafoedita were mixed together.

"The juice which gives this beautiful purple colour, is, says M. du Hamel, while it remains in the body of the animal, and while this is in health, wholly white; but no sooner is it exposed to the sun, than it begins

to change colour, and in less than five minutes goes through the several changes of pale green, yellowish, and a beautiful emerald green; after this it becomes of a deeper and duskier green, then bluish, reddish, and finally a deep and very beautiful purple. Sometimes the juice is found naturally green in the animal: this is probably from the creature's being in a diseased state. But when it is naturally thus, it immediately becomes red, and afterwards purple, on being exposed to the sun; its several preceding changes seeming to have been made already in the body of the animal.

"If a piece of linen be rubbed over with this juice, and part of it exposed to the sun, part not, that only will turn red which is so exposed, the other remaining green without any alteration; and it is observed, that the stronger the sun shines, the quicker the change appears; and probably the colour is in proportion also the more beautiful and lively. And it is very remarkable, that if a needle, or any other opaque body be laid upon the linen which is yet green, and is to become red on being exposed to the sun, after such an exposure, the whole shall be changed red or purple, excepting only that small spot which is covered by the needle, which will still remain green.

"This beautiful purple, if it can ever be brought into use in dyeing, will have one very great advantage from its viscosity. The pieces of cloth that had been stained by it retained their colour, in spite of several boilings in different liquors, which M. du Hamel made them pass through; and the colour, on examination, was found not to be superficial, but penetrated the whole body of the stuff, which was tinged by it. There are many inconveniences which must naturally attend the use of this substance as a dye; but they may, perhaps, all be got over by care and application. It is very certain, that this is of too viscous a nature easily to penetrate many substances; but it is also certain, that this might be obviated by dissolving it in some proper liquor. It appears very plainly, that the antients had a method of thus dissolving their purple; but we neither know what was their purple, nor what was its dissolvent; nor, which would be of much more consequence to us at present, what is the proper dissolvent for our own."

[Note L.] *On the probable influence of Phenician commerce on the civilization of Britain.*—When Julius Cesar invaded Britain, he discovered a marked difference, in point of civilization, between the inhabitants of the sea-coasts and those who dwelt in the interior. Whilst the latter lived almost in a state of complete barbarism, the former dwelt together in small and rudely built towns, and cultivated the habits of social and civilized life. Though this may partly be ascribed to the continual intercourse maintained between them and the several Gallic nations, yet, we apprehend, it is chiefly to be attributed to the commerce, which had for many years, and perhaps ages, been carried on between them and the Phenicians. It is highly probable that those prodigious works both of earth and of stone which were executed by the antient Britons, were performed under the direction of the Phenician merchants who visited their shores. "The remains of the Druidical temples of Abery and Stonehenge afford convincing evidence, that the persons who raised those stupendous masses of stone from their quarries, arranged them with the most exact method, poised them high in air, and taught by them the positions of the heavenly bodies, must have been in some degree acquainted both with the mechanical powers and the principles of astronomical science." And who, among all the strangers that visited the British shores, were so likely to instruct the natives in these subjects, as the Phenicians? This opinion is confirmed by the fact, that temples of the sun have been discovered in eastern climes which, though in a state of ruin, afford sufficient evidence, that they once resembled in their plan and elevation, the Druidical temples in our own island.

[Note M.] *Remarkable instance of commercial enterprize overcoming the most formidable physical difficulties.*—The island of Ormuz lies in the mouth of the Persian gulf, at the distance of five miles from the opposite continent. It is of no great extent, those who have described it most accurately allowing it not more than seven miles in circumference. It is, strictly speaking, no better than a rock of salt, the very dust of the country within land being very white and pure, as well as very pungent to the taste. Springs there are none; and when some writers mention small lakes of fresh water therein, we are to understand no more than cavities filled with rain, which, however falls but seldom in that climate. This island was not only inhabited, but had also a good city, and a strong fortress, in which the kings of Ormuz resided, who had likewise some dominions, though not of any large extent, upon the continent of Persia. It was from its commodious situation, that it became the greatest mart in the East, to which shipping repaired from all parts of the Indies, from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia, besides a regular trade carried on by caravans cross the country. This made the sovereigns of Ormuz rich and respected, if not great and potent monarchs; and, at proper seasons of the year, there was a prodigious resort of merchants, from all countries, besides factors, that resided constantly there; particularly the Venetians, who drove a great trade in jewels transported from thence to Bassora, and so by caravans to Aleppo; or to Suez by sea, then overland, by the Nile, to Alexandria, where they were delivered to the merchants to whom they were consigned.

It was the known wealth and prodigious commerce of this place, which excited the ambitious Portuguese to attempt the conquest of it in 1506. As it was not for their interest, they did not deprive the king either of his title or of his dominions, but were content he should retain the one, and pay a tribute for the other. They were, however, absolute masters of the town and citadel. The former stood upon the sea-coast, and consisted of about three thousand houses. The settled inhabitants were, for the most part, Arabians, Mohammedans, and subjects to the sovereign; a few Indians, who were Pagans; and about one hundred

families of Jews; so that, in all, they were computed at forty thousand souls. The Portuguese residing there built very stately houses, gilding all the bars of their doors and windows, and often boasting that, instead of lead and iron, they would substitute silver and gold. The materials with which they built, were no other than the solid salt, which constitutes, if the expression may be allowed, the soil of the island, very durable in that island, and not unpleasant to the eye. The streets were strait and narrow, and the houses lofty, the better to shade them from the sun. On the roofs they had slight apartments of wood, where they lay in the summer time, and a kind of ventilators, built of pumice-stone, for the sake of lightness, by the help of which, they admitted fresh air into all the apartments below. Their best rooms were beneath the surface of the street, in which they had baths and fresh water, for themselves, their wives and children, to lie in, during the summer heats, more excessive here than in any other part of the known world, the opposite continent only excepted. The Portuguese built also a most stately church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which served not only for devotion, but for their recreation, by walking in the cool and shady cloisters.

The fortress, or citadel, built on a point of land extending towards the Persian coast, was regular, beautiful, and very strong, furnished, by degrees, with no less than three hundred pieces of cannon. The king or sultan had his palace in a fine plain, with some pavilions and pleasure-houses near it, and among them a small tuft of palm-trees. The island has two harbours, one on the East, the other on the West side, but neither of them very commodious; so that all ships of a larger burden than 600 tons, were obliged to lie in the bay, at the distance of half a mile from the shore. Between the harbour, and, as it were, in the centre of the island, there rises a mountain, on the summit of that, another smaller and steeper; the lower is composed of salt and sulphur, the upper of salt alone, so pure, that, at a distance, it looks like a great hill covered with snow. Upon this mountain, there are still discernible, the ruins of certain towers; in one of which, the sultans of Ormuz kept their brethren, after they had deprived them of sight, where they were well attended, and sumptuously entertained. The Portuguese had likewise a fortress upon the opposite coast, for the sake of protecting their barks, and other small vessels, the sea being so shallow between the continent and island, as not to admit of ships. The shore all round is covered with a black shining sand, very heavy, and of a surprising lustre. The natives, in the summer-time more especially, in the mornings and evenings, run into the sea, up to their necks; but this refreshment the Europeans could not enjoy, because it made their skins peel, so that they had recourse to the baths in their vaults, which have been before mentioned.

It hath been very justly observed, that the wealth, the splendour, and concourse of people, not only reperred Ormuz the wonder of the people, whilst in its flourishing condition, but afforded a perpetual memorial of the almost omnipotent power of commerce, in respect to sublunary things; for here, at the trading seasons, which lasted from January to March, and during the months of September and October, there was not barely an intercourse between multitudes of busy people, some of whom came, as it were, from the very ends of the earth, to reap the benefit of these conferences, but mirth and pleasure also entertained their votaries here. The salt dust of the streets was concealed, and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; the beams of the noon-day sun were excluded by canvas awnings raised over the tops of the houses. The rooms next the streets were adorned with Indian cabinets, and piles of the finest porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf-trees and shrubs, set in gilded vases, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water stand at the corners of every street; the richest wines of Persia, the most costly perfumes, and the greatest delicacies of the East, were here poured forth with profusion; and so long as it lasted, which was sometimes for six weeks, it looked like a magic scene, diversified with the most opposite appearances; cunning and gravity in the exchange; an air of officious politeness appearing every where in the shops; a kind of haughty and supercilious decorum reigning amongst the Portuguese officers, civil and military; an air of wonder and delight amongst the common spectators; transport and joy in the public places, where rope-dancers, mountebanks, jugglers, dancers, and fortune-tellers, displayed their several talents for delusion and deceit. Such, in spite of the frowns of nature, could human industry, directed by art, and supported by trade, render this despicable rock of salt, which remains now as desert and uninventing, as it was then captivating, in the eyes of those multitudes who came in the train of avarice, luxury, and curiosity.

It is easy to conceive, from this description, that the post of governor of Ormuz must have been exceedingly lucrative, more especially in later times, when the governor laid it down as a capital maxim, that their principal business was to enrich themselves. To answer this purpose, they took large sums out of the customs, paid by all the shipping that entered the port or road of Ormuz; they imposed likewise high duties upon the pearl fishery at the island of Baharen; the barks from the coast of Arabia and Persia, though freighted only with necessaries, paid mighty sums every year, from the great consumption of all things made, as well by strangers as inhabitants. The governor claimed a privilege of sending his own vessels to Goa, Chaul, Bengal, and Muscat; and, that his profit upon their cargoes might be the more considerable, the market was not opened to private merchants, till the governor had purchased a lading for his ships. Add to all this, the exclusive power of selling horses throughout the bounds of his jurisdiction, which must have amounted to a great sum, since they were generally valued at four or five thousand crowns apiece. The caravans from Aleppo set out twice a year, in the months of April and September, for Bassora, with a vast number of camels, escorted by Janissaries; and from thence themselves and their merchandize were easily transported by sea to Ormuz. These caravans consisted of from two or three to five or six thousand persons, and the wealth they brought was prodigious. On the other hand, the regular trade from Malacca, private

ships from all parts of the Indies; and the caravans that passed through the provinces of Persia, brought likewise the richest and most valuable commodities, in vast quantities; neither could any of these be bought or sold, but the governor of Ormuz, and his dependents, would be gainers by them, more or less. One would have thought, that the value of this place being so thoroughly understood, and the security of it being so well provided for, there should have been but little fear of its being lost; more especially, at a time when their own power was so very great, and that of their enemies, reckoned singly, very inconsiderable.

But the insolence of prosperity made all the precautions taken in those times, when prudence and public spirit prevailed, altogether fruitless. The famous Persian monarch, Shah Abbas, had long meditated the conquest of this important place; but, for want of a naval force, found it altogether impracticable. The Portuguese, now under the dominion of Spain, supplied him with a fleet, by their indiscretion, which all the power of his monarchy could not have raised, or his policy obtained: in short, they quarrelled with, and insulted the English, who were become lately considerable in the Indies. These entered into a treaty with the Persian, from certain motives, and upon certain terms, furnished a squadron of nine sail, with which they blocked up and battered the city and castle, and landed an army of 3000 Persians on the island. The besieged had a great strength, and a good fleet, but all was very ill managed. The city surrendered soon; some writers suggest through treachery; but it seems to have been rather through indiscretion and folly: the fleet was, for the most part, burnt and destroyed. After all, the citadel made a good defence, and might have been preserved, if the governor had not been obstinate, in refusing to let the sea through the peninsula, which joined the point of land upon which the fortress stood to the island, because it was an expedient that did not occur first to himself. In fine, after about two months dispute, the garrison of that important place capitulated with the English; and thus, after remaining in their hands almost one hundred and twenty years, Ormuz was lost by the Portuguese.

It was computed that, exclusive of jewels and rich merchandize, the plunder and ready money, amounted to above two millions. The articles of the capitulation were but ill observed, and the Persian was not very scrupulous in executing the treaty; so that the English were far from having their full share of booty; and of what they did receive the greatest part perished at sea. The Portuguese made an attempt for the recovery of Ormuz, in which they might have been successful, if the viceroy at Goa had not, through want of capacity, indolence, or pique to the officer who commanded in that expedition, failed in his duty. After it once fell into the hands of the Persians, the place was quickly ruined, and the trade transferred to Bander Abbassi, or Gambron. In process of time, the Dutch carried off the materials of the city, under pretence of taking in ballast, which turned to very good account; till, at length, this practice was forbid by the Persians when it was too late. A garrison was kept in the citadel for some time; but, by degrees, that is likewise fallen into ruin, the island utterly deserted; and scarce the smallest remains are now left to vindicate the records of history, or to prove, that this was once a place of such great consequence, and the capital magazine of the whole East. U. H.

[Note N.] *Italian commerce during the middle ages.*—“Various causes contributed to revive the spirit of commerce, and to renew, in some degree, the intercourse between different nations. The Italians, by their connection with Constantinople, and other cities of the Greek empire, had preserved in their own country some relish for the precious commodities and curious manufactures of the East. They communicated some knowledge of these to the countries contiguous to Italy. But this commerce being extremely limited, the intercourse which it occasioned between different nations was not considerable. The Crusades, by leading multitudes from every corner of Europe into Asia, opened a more extensive communication between the East and West, which subsisted for two centuries; and though the object of these expeditions was conquest and not commerce, though the issue of them proved as unfortunate as the motives for undertaking them were wild and enthusiastic, their commercial effects, as hath been shewn, were both beneficial and permanent. During the continuance of the Crusades, the great cities in Italy, and in other countries of Europe, acquired liberty, and together with it such privileges as rendered them respectable and independent communities. Thus in every state, there was formed a new order of citizens, to whom commerce presented itself as their proper object, and opened to them a certain path to wealth and consideration. Soon after the close of the Holy War, the mariners compass was invented, which, by rendering navigation more secure, encouraged it to become more adventurous, facilitated the communication between remote nations, and brought them nearer to each other.

“The Italian states, during the same period, established a regular commerce with the East in the ports of Egypt, and drew from thence all the rich products of the Indies. They introduced into their own territories manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. They attempted new arts; and transplanted from warmer climates to which they had hitherto been deemed peculiar, several natural productions, which now furnish the materials of a lucrative and extended commerce. All these commodities, whether imported from Asia, or produced by their own skill, they disposed of to great advantage among the other people of Europe, who began to acquire some taste for an elegance in living unknown to their ancestors, or despised by them. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the commerce of Europe was almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, more commonly known in those ages by the name of Lombards. Companies or societies of Lombard merchants settled in every different kingdom. They were taken under the immediate protection of the several governments. They enjoyed extensive

privileges and immunities. The operation of the antient barbarous laws concerning strangers was suspended with respect to them. They became the carriers, the manufacturers, and the bankers of all Europe." (Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 93—95.)

[Note O.] *Hanseatic league.*—“While the Italians, in the South of Europe, were cultivating trade with such industry and success, the commercial spirit awakened in the North towards the middle of the thirteenth century. As the nations around the Baltic were, at that time, extremely barbarous, and infested that sea with their piracies, the cities of Lubec and Hamburgh, soon after they began to open some trade with these people, found it necessary to enter into a league of mutual defence. They derived such advantages from this union, that other towns acceded to their confederacy; and, in a short time, eighty of the most considerable cities scattered through those extensive countries which stretch from the bottom of the Baltic to Cologne on the Rhine, joined in the famous Hanseatic league, which became so formidable, that its alliance was courted, and its enmity was dreaded by the greatest monarchs. The members of this powerful association formed the first systematic plan of commerce known in the middle ages, and conducted it by common laws, enacted in their general assemblies. They supplied the rest of Europe with naval stores, and pitched on different towns, the most eminent of which was Bruges in Flanders, where they established staples in which their commerce was regularly carried on. Thither the Lombards brought the productions of India, together with the manufactures of Italy, and exchanged them for the more bulky, but not less useful commodities of the North. The Hanseatic merchants disposed of the cargoes which they received from the Lombards, in the ports of the Baltic, or carried them up the great rivers into the interior parts of Germany. (Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 95, 96.)

“The Hanseatic league is the most powerful commercial confederacy known in history. Its origin towards the close of the twelfth century, and the objects of its union, are described by Knipschildt *Tractatus Historico-Politico Juridicus de Juribus Civitat. Imper. lib. i. cap. 4.* Anderson has mentioned the chief facts with respect to their commercial progress, the extent of the privileges which they obtained in different countries, their successful wars with several monarchs, as well as the spirit and zeal with which they contended for those liberties and rights without which it is impossible to carry on commerce to advantage. The vigorous efforts of a society of merchants attentive only to commercial objects, could not fail of diffusing new and more liberal ideas concerning justice and order in every country of Europe where they settled.” *Ibid. vol. i. p. 406.*

[Note P.] *English commerce.*—“In England, the progress of commerce was extremely slow; and the causes of this are obvious. During the Saxon heptarchy, England, split into many petty kingdoms, which were perpetually at variance with each other; exposed to the fierce incursions of the Danes, and other northern pirates; and sunk in barbarity and ignorance, was in no condition to cultivate commerce, or to pursue any system of useful and salutary policy. When a better prospect began to open by the union of the kingdom under one monarch, the Norman conquest took place. This occasioned such a violent shock, as well as such a sudden and total revolution of property, that the nation did not recover from it during several reigns. By the time that the constitution began to acquire some stability, and the English had so incorporated with their conquerors as to become one people, the nation engaged with no less ardour than imprudence in support of the pretensions of their sovereigns to the crown of France, and long wasted its vigour and genius in its wild efforts to conquer that kingdom. When by ill success, and repeated disappointments, a period was at last put to this fatal frenzy; and the nation, beginning to enjoy some repose, had leisure to breathe, and to gather new strength, the destructive wars between the houses of York and Lancaster broke out, and involved the kingdom in the worst of all calamities. Thus, besides the common obstructions of commerce occasioned by the nature of the feudal government, and the state of manners during the middle ages, its progress in England was retarded by particular causes. Such a succession of events adverse to the commercial spirit, was sufficient to have checked its growth, although every other circumstance had favoured it. The English were accordingly one of the last nations in Europe who availed themselves of those commercial advantages which were natural or peculiar to their country. Before the reign of Edward III. all the wool of England, except a small quantity wrought into coarse cloths for home consumption, was sold to the Flemings or Lombards, and manufactured by them. Though Edward, A. D. 1320, began to allure some of the Flemish weavers to settle in England, it was long before the English were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets, and the export of unwrought wool still continued to be the chief article of their commerce. All foreign commodities were brought into England by the Lombard or Hanseatic merchants. The English ports were frequented by ships both from the North and South of Europe, and they tamely allowed foreigners to reap all the profits arising from the supply of their wants. The first commercial treaty of England on record, is that with Hagrim, king of Norway, A. D. 1217. But the English did not venture to trade in their own ships to the Baltic, until the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was after the middle of the fifteenth, before they sent any ship into the Mediterranean. Nor was it long before this period that their vessels began to visit the ports of Spain or Portugal. But though I have pointed out the slow progress of English commerce as a fact little attended to, and yet meriting consideration; the concourse of foreigners to the ports of England, together with the communication among all the different countries in Europe, which went on increasing from the beginning of the twelfth century, is

sufficient to justify all the observations and reasonings in the text concerning the influence of commerce on the state of manners and of society." (Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 406—408.)

[Note Q.] *Table of commercial events.*—The following, though a very imperfect catalogue of the principal facts and events connected with the history of commerce, may, perhaps, form an useful appendix to the lecture in which it has been attempted to trace its origin and progress.

B. C.

- 1728. Joseph sold into Egypt.
- 351. Destruction of Sidon by Ochus king of Persia.
- 333. Tyre besieged by Alexander the Great.
- 332. Tyre taken and destroyed.

A. D.

- 130. Palmyra protected by the Romans.
- 272. Palmyra destroyed by the Romans.
- 636. Bassora erected for purposes of trade.
- 958. Cairo founded that it might be the capital of the Egyptian trade.
- 1206. Genoese obtained possession of Caffa on the Black Sea.
- 1307. Coals first used in England.
- 1320. Gold coined in Christendom.
- 1325. First treaty of commerce between England and Venice.
- 1331. The art of weaving cloth brought from Flanders into England.
- 1344. Gold first coined in England.
- 1346. Treaty of commerce between the Venetians and sultans of Egypt.
- 1384. First act of navigation in England. No goods to be imported by Englishmen on foreign bottoms.
- 1386. First company of linen weavers in England.
- 1409. Alphonso de Albuquerque the Great, governor of the Indies.
- 1454. First Portuguese colony in Guinea.
- 1475. Genoese deprived of Caffa by Mahomet the Great.
- 1484. Portuguese obtained the ascendancy at Congo.
- 1486. Cape of Good Hope discovered.
- 1492. Columbus discovered America.
- 1493. Rights of the Spaniards and Portuguese adjusted by the Pope.
- 1494. Vasquez de Gama opened an intercourse with India.
- 1497. Sebastian Cabot discovered the North Eastern part of the American continent.
- 1505. Francis Almeyda, first Portuguese viceroy, sailed for India.—Quiloa taken by the Portuguese.
- 1506. Portuguese established at Ormuz.—Portuguese settled in Ceylon.—Porto-Rico colonised.
- 1507. Portuguese established themselves at Muskat.—Pearl fishery of the Maldives discovered.—Settlements made in the Terra Firma.
- 1510. Albuquerque reduced Goa.—Settlement at Darien.
- 1511. Settlement at Cuba.
- 1512. Ponce de Leon invaded Florida.
- 1513. South Sea seen by the Spaniards.
- 1515. Alphonso de Albuquerque died.
- 1517. Trade opened with China.
- 1518. Mexico invaded.
- 1519. Cortez took Mexico.
- 1521. Magellan slain at one of the Philippines.—Cortez conquered Mexico.
- 1523. French began their expeditions to Canada.
- 1525. Pizarro's first expedition against Peru.
- 1528. Narvaez took possession of Florida.
- 1530. Dutch entered into alliance with the king of Borneo.—Peru invaded.
- 1531. Post offices began in England.
- 1538. Peru reduced by Pizarro.
- 1539. Soto in vain attempted to conquer Florida.
- 1540. Spaniards invaded Chili.
- 1543. Manco Capac, one of the last inca's, murdered.
- 1558. Tapac Amaru, the last of the inca's, destroyed.
- 1562. Ribant endeavoured to establish a French colony at Ribant.
- 1572. Goa besieged by the Indians.
- 1576. Attempts made to discover a North West passage.
- 1578. French commerce of Guinea.
- 1579. Mr. Cotton opened a profitable fishery at Newfoundland.

A. D.

1581. General relaxation of discipline in Portuguese India.
 1582. Captain Stephens went to Goa by the Cape of Good Hope.
 1584. Raleigh procured a patent to plant Virginia.
 1587. Cavendish opened the direct passage to the East Indies.
 1588. English commerce of Guinea.
 1590. Manilla fortified.
 1595. First Dutch fleet sailed to the East Indies.—Dutch commerce of Guinea.
 1600. First charter granted to the governor and company of the merchants of London trading to the East Indies.
 1601. Lancaster's first voyage in the service of the company.
 1602. Dutch East India company formed.
 1604. Dutch attempted to take Mozambique.—Middleton's voyage.—French East India company established.
 1606. Companies of London and Bristol formed for the purpose of colonization.
 1607. Dutch endeavoured to circumvent the English.—Hudson's Bay discovered.
 1608. James Town erected.—New York purchased by the Dutch.
 1610. Captain Keeling returned from the East Indies without the loss of a man.—Sir Henry Middleton oppressed by the Turks.
 1616. English had by this time acquired more than 20 settlements.—Portuguese defeated by the English.
 1619. Dutch entered into treaty with the English, but afterwards massacred them at Lantore and Poleroon.—Batavia founded.
 1620. Negroes imported into Virginia.—Copper money and coining with a die first used in England.—Puritan settlement in New England.
 1622. Ormuz lost by the Portuguese.—A few English families said to have settled at Carolina.
 1623. Dreadful massacre at Amboyna.
 1631. Lord Baltimore obtained Maryland.
 1638. King of Candy invited the assistance of the Dutch.
 1639. New settlements at Quebec.—Trade introduced by the Japanese.
 1655. Portuguese totally defeated in Ceylon.
 1658. Pearl fishery of the Maldives lost.
 1661. Charter granted to the East India company.—Bombay ceded to them.
 1662. Negapatam finally lost by the Dutch.
 1663. Patent granted to Carolina.
 1664. Dutch surrendered New York.—New Jersey consigned to the Duke of York.
 1665. The Swedes sold New Jersey to the Dutch.
 1666. English settled in Antigua.
 1667. Cochin taken by the Dutch.—Treaty of commerce between England and Spain.
 1668. Treaty of commerce between England and Scotland.
 1669. Treaty of commerce between England and Savoy.
 1670. Treaty of commerce between England and Denmark.
 1672. Venetians made a vain attempt to renew their commerce by the Black Sea.
 1673. Mississippi discovered.
 1680. First establishment of the French in the East Indies.
 1681. Penny post in London.—Mr. Penn obtained Pennsylvania.—French company obliged to grant licences.
 1688. Governor Child quarrelled with the great Mogul.
 1690. Peace with the Mogul.
 1691. Project formed by private merchants against the company.—Quebec besieged by the English.
 1692. Company forfeited their charter.
 1695. Secret services discovered.
 1699. Two companies existing at the same time.
 1700. Companies united.
 1710. Nova Scotia ceded to the British.
 1719. Massacre at Bencoolen.
 1727. Whidah conquered by the king of Dahomay.
 1749. Nova Scotia peopled.
 1787. Botany Bay settlement first sailed from England.

[Note R.] *Beneficial effects of commerce.*—“This increase of commerce, and of intercourse between nations, how inconsiderable soever it may appear in respect of their rapid and extensive progress during the last and present age, seems wonderfully great, when we compare it with the state of both in Europe previous to the twelfth century. It did not fail of producing great effects. Commerce tends to wear off those prejudices which maintain distinction and animosity between nations. It softens and polishes the manners

of men. It unites them by one of the strongest of all ties, the desire of supplying their mutual wants. It disposes them to peace, by establishing in every state an order of citizens bound by their interest to be the guardians of public tranquillity. As soon as the commercial spirit acquires vigour, and begins to gain an ascendant in any society, we discover a new genius in its policy, its alliances, its wars, and its negotiations. Conspicuous proofs of this occur in the history of the Italian states, of the Hanseatic league, and the cities of the Netherlands, during the period under review. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners, which occupy and distinguish polished nations." (Dr. Robertson's Charles V. vol. i. p. 97, 98.)

Philosophy of History.

LECTURE III.

War.—Its importance in the History of Man.—Classification of Wars.—Causes and consequences of the rise, prosperity, decline, and fall, of the four celebrated Monarchies of Babylon, Persia, Macedon, and Rome.

IN the first lecture, five classes of causes were mentioned, to which the present diversified condition of mankind might be ascribed. Of these, two have been discussed; namely, physical causes, and the different great national employments. The third claims our attention in the present lecture, viz. wars, and those national revolutions which have resulted from them. So much of these subjects, as relate to events which preceded the ruin of the Roman empire, will be included in this lecture.

In contemplating the awful subject of war, it must be evident to every reflecting mind, that it is one of the deepest interest in the whole history of man. War is thus important, particularly in four points of view.

1. Its tendency to diminish the human species. It does this not only by the slaughter of immense multitudes in the field of battle; but to these must be added, those who perish of their wounds, and of hardships suffered by the vanquished, and those who are cut off by the famines and pestilences which have ever followed in the train of war. Taking such an estimate, it is to be feared that we shall rather be within, than beyond, the bounds of truth, if we consider the numbers of mankind, that annually perish by means of war, as being in the proportion of one to 1000; and if this statement be admissible,

war may be considered as having six times depopulated the earth. 2. A second effect of war, too disgusting indeed to be long contemplated, is, its production of vice and misery. Of all the various methods, by which it accomplishes these purposes, the friends of humanity can scarcely wish to be fully informed. Instead, therefore, of dwelling on so odious a topic, we turn from the subject with the utmost aversion, to mention a third effect of war, viz. to retard the progress of society. This is a very general consequence of protracted hostilities, and is effected in three different ways; by the destruction of personal safety, by the annihilation of capital, and by the aversion from peaceful habits, which is generated by the constant pursuit of military occupations. 4. Yet there is a fourth consequence, seemingly contradictory to that which has been just mentioned; which is, that in some circumstances war excites an emulation between the inhabitants of different countries, which tends to accelerate the progress of mind. This occurs principally when the two hostile nations are considerably advanced in civilization. In illustration of this remark, we may refer to two periods of our own history; in the reign of Elizabeth, when our ancestors carried on a deadly contest with Philip of Spain; and that of Anne, when they were placed in similar circumstances with Louis XIV. of France. In both these cases each contending party not only endeavoured to rout its adversary in the field, but also to rival them in the arts of peace, and surpass them in the riches of literary production.

We might here be expected to discuss the question of the lawfulness of defensive war, but this discussion would involve various theological considerations, and would therefore be inconsistent with the plan of these lectures, which is avowedly *not theological*. On this subject it may suffice to observe, that whoever is desirous of investigating the morality of wars, will do well to classify them, according to the motives in which they professedly originate. Wars are of three classes, those of *malevolence*, those of *cupidity*, and those of *alleged necessity*. 1. Wars of malevolence have for their direct and avowed object, the destruction of some portion of the human species. These are of several degrees of enormity. The first and most horrible, are such as arise from the hatred, which man, in certain circumstances, appears to bear to his fellow man, simply as a stranger, with whom he has held no previous acquaintance. This feeling is so far distant from any thing in civilized life, that it may be imagined scarcely to exist; but the feeble remains of it might, at least within a few years, be traced in some of the more obscure and less enlightened even of our own country villages, where strangers, simply as strangers, were sure to be exposed

to insults. Next to these, are the wars which originate in national hatred ; a hatred which is often found to exist among bordering nations, who reside on opposite sides of rivers, mountains or seas, and which seldom fails to be augmented and heightened by reciprocal injuries. Political and religious dissensions furnish also another fruitful source of these wars, which are carried on with more than ordinary malevolence. It not unfrequently occurs, that while the first motives by which the parties were actuated in commencing hostilities pass away and are forgotten, their posterity perpetuate the strife, and each side appears desirous of increasing the materials and incitements to revenge. It has been imagined, that some of the contests between the catholics and protestants of France have been of the description now referred to. 2. Wars of cupidity are such as have for their object, the acquirement of some good, which does not lawfully belong to the adventurer. The objects contended for, are various, according to the habits and civilization of the combatants. The worst are those of cannibals, who seek their enemies as prey to be devoured. Such, there is reason to apprehend, have been many of the contests in New Zealand. The next are those whose chief object it is to enslave, as well as to seize the property of the inhabitants. Such were those contests that, before the abolition of the slave trade, were carried on among many of the African tribes at the instigation of European miscreants, and under the influence of European wealth. Others are intended solely for plunder ; such have been many of the predatory expeditions of pastoral nations. But the far greater part of this class of wars have proposed, as their object, to subdue and annex one country to another. In other cases, by a more refined policy, rival states have contented themselves with exercising a predominant influence, persuading men to become their subjects, under the specious name of allies. Lastly, there is another motive, which some have thought to be the most honourable and refined, namely, the love of military renown ; or, as it is frequently called, the thirst of glory. This has probably been the chief incentive, influencing the minds, and stimulating the exertions, of celebrated conquerors, both in antient and modern times.

3. Wars of alleged necessity, are such as avowedly originate from motives of a widely different description to either of the preceding, and which, it is believed, would remain defensible, though all the rest were condemned. The alleged motives for such wars are the following. 1. Obedience to a divine command. To this class are to be referred, the wars of the Jews against the Canaanites,—those of the Arabians in the prosecution of their religion ; the crusades, of the morality or immorality of which, persons will form a different

judgment, according to their conviction of the credibility of the missions with which these wars were connected. 2. Others are undertaken with a view to avoid some distant danger, of which nature are those contests whose professed object it is to maintain the balance of power. Such contests are seldom carried on, unless where nations have made some progress in political refinement: they have consequently been most frequent in Ancient Greece and Modern Europe. 3. Other wars of this class have been simply intended to resist the attacks and counteract the movements of an invading enemy. The last variety of defensive wars, to which we shall allude, are such as have for their object the vindication or protection of some weaker state, unjustly attacked by a more powerful nation. When these various causes of national hostility are taken into the account, it will be evident, that no mere political revolution, no prevalence of a party, however numerous and powerful, but rather some great moral change, operating upon the motives of men, is alone sufficient to introduce that period of universal peace, for which philosophy dares not hope, but in which religion commands us to believe.

Again, wars will admit of a second classification, according to the powers between whom they are conducted. In this view, they may be divided into four classes; *feudal wars*, *civil wars*, *simple national wars*, and *wars of confederation*.

1. *Feudal wars.* These are carried on between rival chieftains, who have no national rights of peace or war, but are accustomed to repel force by force. They therefore always argue a defective state of civil government; and, at the same time, are attended with the most bitter personal animosities, the greatest waste of human life and property, and the most permanent injury to society.

2. *Civil wars.* In this class are included all those wars which are carried on by divisions of the same nation, or members of the same government against each other. They have always some specious object in view, and both moral and religious pretexts are not unfrequently brought forward in justification of their atrocities. When a country is minutely divided by these hostile parties, so that the inhabitants of almost every village are opposed to each other, they are highly prejudicial to the progress of cultivation; but when, on the contrary, the larger divisions of society are at variance, a spirit of competition is sometimes generated, which calls forth all the energies of mind, and sometimes produces valuable results. The history of all nations, and especially of our own country,

conspires to prove, that, in most cases, civil wars are attended with that violent fever of animosity, which prompts to the most barbarous actions, and the most deadly revenge; yet there are a few instances, in which they have been found connected with a degree of disinterestedness and moral enthusiasm, which it is difficult to parallel in any of the records of peaceful life.

3. Simple national wars are those contests between two nations, which unhappily fill the pages both of ancient and modern history, and which, therefore, cannot need further elucidation.

4. Wars of confederation. These are such as are conducted by combined states, and are most common where society is in an advanced state, and where the nations consider themselves as members of one associated family. They have, therefore, been most frequent in the history of Ancient Greece and of Modern Europe. In the former, we find the expedition of the Argonauts, the Trojan war, the Peloponnesian war, the sacred war, the social war, and several others. In Modern Europe, such leagues have been very frequent, since the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Their avowed object has been to prevent the establishment of an European monarchy, and the preservation of the balance of power. The powers against whom these confederacies have been chiefly directed, have been, at different times, the house of Austria, and the kingdom of France. These wars of confederation admit also of another general remark; they are subject to great fluctuations, since it has frequently been seen, that some of the contracting powers relinquish the contest before the object has been attained for which the confederation was formed.

Among the most important consequences of wars, may be mentioned the establishment of new monarchies or empires; four of which, of very superior magnitude, have been most celebrated in ancient history; namely, the *Assyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Macedonian*, and the *Roman*.

I. The Assyrian empire is called by three names, and may be distinguished into three monarchies, according to the period in which it is contemplated; the ancient Assyrian, the modern Assyrian, and the Babylonian. Could we believe the accounts that have been handed down to us of the ancient Assyrian empire, we should regard it as one of the most ancient and splendid monarchies, that ever existed. According to these traditions, about 2000 years before the

Christian era, there existed a great prince, named Ninus, who built the vast city of Nineveh, on the river Tigris, and there laid the foundation of his monarchy. He collected vast armies, and extended his dominions in every direction, married the celebrated Semiramis, and left her in undisputed possession of his ample dominions. Semiramis gained many conquests, but invaded India in vain. She, however, is said to have erected Babylon, and embellished it with a variety of public edifices of great strength and magnificence; but which have long since perished by the ravages of time. She was succeeded by her son Ninyas, the first of a long series of weak princes, under whom the empire gradually declined, till the reign of Sardanapalus, when it terminated, B. C. 747. In reflecting upon this traditional statement, it is evidently clogged with so many improbabilities, that full credit cannot be given to it, unless it were attended with more abundant historical evidence. 1. The magnitude of the armies employed by the first Assyrian conquerors, and the extent of the works carried on by them, appear inconsistent with such an infant state of society. 2. The existing state of the East, in which Elam or Persia must have had the pre-eminence, is inconsistent with the existence of such a preponderating monarchy, as that of which we have been speaking. 3. The public buildings, which are ascribed to Semiramis, are said, by more authentic and valuable historians, to be the works of Nitocris, the celebrated queen mother, who reigned after Nebuchadnezzar. 4. Many of the facts stated of Sardanapalus, and the fate of the first Assyrian empires, are equally stated of the destruction of the second.

The second Assyrian monarchy is said to have been founded on the destruction of the former, B. C. 747, which mighty empire was now divided between the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Medes. It is certain from the testimony of scripture, as well as from other ancient authorities, that such an empire did exist, that it extended itself over the greater part of Palestine, and had extensive possessions in Persia. It appears to have terminated under Sarac, in whose reign Nineveh was taken by the Babylonians, B. C. 626. Of the principles on which this monarchy was founded, and by which it was governed—the causes and consequences of its prosperity and ruin, we are unable to speak with any degree of certainty, for want of authentic documents; but it is not improbable, that they were similar to those which apply to the Babylonian empire.

The Babylonian monarchy appears to have been founded by Nebuchadnezzar I. about 626, B. C. and to have obtained its highest elevation under

Nebuchadnezzar II., who took Jerusalem, B. C. 753, and Tyre, B. C. 573. It extended, in its most prosperous state, over two different tracts of country, one of which was under its more direct authority; but over the other it extended only an indirect influence. Within the direct government of Babylon, in its most prosperous state, may be comprehended Palestine, Syria, the provinces on the Tigris and Euphrates, and some parts of Persia; while its indirect government extended over Egypt, Phoenicia, and some of those remoter provinces of Persia, which lay at a great distance from the seat of empire. If an enquiry were instituted into the causes which produced so powerful a monarchy in so early a stage of society, it would probably appear, that they had some connection with the agricultural character of the inhabitants. The earth in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates had been cultivated for ages immemorial with the utmost industry, and it had rewarded the labours of the husbandman with the most prolific harvests. This had necessarily tended to increase the population of those regions, and gave them a vast numerical superiority over neighbouring tribes. To the preceding remark may be added another, which deserves the most serious consideration. Among the inhabitants of agricultural countries will be found one of the two following very opposite feelings, as it concerns war; they will either regard it as completely foreign to their interests, and therefore treat it with that formal attention which substitutes rules of discipline for real courage, as in the case of the antient Egyptians and modern Chinese; or, if they enter zealously into that disastrous pursuit, they never fail to excel in all the advantages which result from habits of order and persevering labour. Hence will arise a discipline comparatively perfect, and an invincible courage interwoven with that discipline. Hence will be found those habits of patient endurance or well directed attack, which are necessary for the reduction or defence of fortified places. Such were the advantages which the Babylonians probably possessed, and to some of them they were assuredly much indebted for their victories. The principles of their government were despotic, depending alone on the uncontroled caprice of the prince. In governing their conquered subjects, the Babylonian monarchs laid aside in some degree the old principle of extermination, and satisfied themselves with carrying a large portion of those whom their victorious arms subdued, to distant parts of the country; some from Palestine to Media, and others from Media to Palestine. Thus torn from their native soil, the exiles were supposed to be deprived also of the love of their country, and freed from a principal incitement to rebellion. This monarchy also, agreeably to its agricultural character, endeavoured to immortalize itself by its public works, of which the walls of Babylon, the bridge

over the Euphrates, the hanging gardens, the temple of Belus, and several others, are mentioned by antient historians.

II. The Medo-Persian empire was thus denominated from its being founded by two confederated nations, the Medes and the Persians. The Medes were an antient military people, inhabiting the North of Persia, immediately to the South of the Caspian Sea. Their military character was distinguished by valour, and subordination to a well regulated discipline, until it became enervated by luxury, and corrupted by success. They are said to have been formerly subject to some of the antient Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs; and after having obtained their independence, were for some time in a state of great anarchy, on account of the supreme power not having been deposited in the hands of any acknowledged chiefs. In these circumstances, a judicious man, named Dejoces, became celebrated as an arbitrator, settling the disputes of all those who appealed to him with the utmost wisdom and impartiality. On a sudden, he retired from public life, professed to be absorbed in his own business, and declined all further interference in the affairs of others; till his countrymen were induced to present him with the kingdom, both as a reward for his past labours, and a pledge for their continuance. This singular event is said to have occurred in the year B. C. 710; and from this time, the Medes were subject to a regular government.

The Persians inhabited the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulph, and were long inferior in power and reputation to the Medes. The foundations of their success appear to have been principally laid in the education of their children, and the personal qualities of Cyrus. The former according to the accounts of Xenophon, were brought up with almost Spartan severity; they were early and daily trained to frugal fare, military discipline, and submission to constituted authorities. They were chiefly instructed, says Herodotus, to use the bow, to manage the horse, and to speak the truth. Some particulars must be added to the statement of Herodotus, and some probably curtailed from that of Xenophon, if we would form a just opinion of an antient Persian; yet it is scarcely to be doubted, that an army composed of hardy youths, educated in a manner at all resembling the description given us by the antients, of the Persian institutions, would easily become superior to any equal number of Asiatic enemies. That the prosperity of Persia was also closely connected with the personal character of Cyrus, is evident, from the circumstance, that Persia rose into consequence during the reign of that celebrated prince; and though it continued to extend itself

after his decease, yet it appears from the date of that event, to have lost its vital principle, and manifested a tendency to rapid decay and dissolution. Cyrus was born, B. C. 599, became a soldier in 583, took Sardis in 548, Babylon in 539, and died in 530. His son Cambyses, though a sort of madman, succeeded in adding Persia to his empire. After a short interval, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, ascended the throne, and conquered the North of India; but failed in his attempts on Scythia and Greece. His successor was the vain and feeble Xerxes, who was covered with ignominy by his several fruitless attempts to subvert the liberties of Greece. From his time, the Persian empire may be considered as rapidly declining. The extent of that empire, in its state of greatest prosperity, may be nearly identified with Turkey in Asia, modern Persia, and Egypt; to which may also be added, Thrace, and a small portion of Independent Tartary. The government of Persia was monarchical, rather than despotic. It was governed by monarchs, unrestrained by councils and legislative authorities; yet who were laid under the strictest obligations never to repeal a law, which had been enacted by their predecessors. Such a constitution must obviously subject an executive government to great inconveniences; yet the very consideration, that whatever was once past could not be recalled, would naturally render legislators more cautious in the measures they adopted. The Persians appear generally, though not totally, to have laid aside the practice of carrying conquered tribes into captivity. They were consequently under the necessity of adopting stricter internal regulations for the maintenance of social order. They divided their country into provinces, placed under independent civil and military governors. The establishment of postage is believed to have originated with this people, for the purpose of securing a rapid communication between the different parts of that extensive empire. The Persian government in one respect exceeded all others, (if we except the modern Burman,) namely, in the excessive cruelty of its punishments, and the summary mode of their execution.

III. The third great empire was that of Macedonia, whose history may be divided into four very unequal periods. The first, from Caranus its founder, to the accession of Philip; the second, the reign of Philip; the third, the reign of Alexander; and the fourth, from the death of Alexander to the subjugation of Egypt.

1. The period in which Caranus commenced his reign is uncertain. The kingdom of Macedon, which he founded, held a sort of middle place between the Greeks and the Barbarians. The early Macedonian princes were reckoned

very mild governors, and their country with the utmost difficulty maintained its independence during the contests with the Persians and the Greeks.

2. Philip began his reign, B. C. 360, and was assassinated B. C. 336. As Philip of Macedon obtained the ascendancy of Greece, and virtually, though not avowedly, suppressed the liberties of that country, it is natural to enquire by what means he was enabled to effect such great designs. To this question three answers may be given. 1. He greatly excelled in military power, skill, and courage. He particularly displayed his acquaintance with the art of war by organizing and training the *phalanx*, a military corps, which consisted, when in its most perfect form, of 8000 men, drawn up into 16 ranks of 500 each. In this case the front ranks were armed with short spears, and those in the rear with lances of great length and thickness; yet such was the depth of the body, that the spears of the hinder ranks could not possibly annoy the enemy in front; the principal value, therefore, of these rear ranks, must have consisted, not in the efficacy of their weapons, but in the increased force and impetus which their height and strength gave to the charge. 2. A second advantage was derived from the divided state of Greece during the government of Philip. There were two forms of government, which principally prevailed in Greece, the aristocratic, which vested the supreme authority in the senate, and the democratic, which appealed to the entire body of free citizens. At the head of the aristocratic states, was Sparta; at the head of the democratic, was Athens; and in all the Grecian states, there were many distinguished persons, who gave the preference to each of these forms of government. Philip, therefore, found every Grecian state divided, and had no great difficulty in engaging the partisans on either side, if not openly to embrace his interest, yet to propose such measures as must indirectly promote his ambitious designs. 3. He had recourse to the direct influence of bribery; availing himself for this purpose of the gold mines of Thasos and Crenides, (afterwards called Philippi,) which produced annually more than a thousand talents; by this means he succeeded in corrupting even the oracle of Delphos itself. Such were the causes which chiefly contributed to Philip's ascendancy in Greece. He was, however, a very deep politician, and contented himself with the title of generalissimo of Greece, professing to put himself at the head of their armies, only that he might maintain their laws and liberties against the forces of the great king.

3. Philip being privately assassinated, B. C. 336, his son Alexander immediately commenced his splendid reign. He crossed the Hellespont, B. C. 335, defeated

the Persians at the Granicus, B. C. 334; at Issus, B. C. 333; at Tyre, B. C. 332; at Arbela, B. C. 331. Darius was murdered B. C. 330; the remainder of the Persian empire was reduced by Alexander, B. C. 329; he invaded India, B. C. 327; and died, B. C. 323. All who have contemplated the career of this celebrated conqueror, must have felt a degree of surprize, that such extensive conquests should have been achieved by so young a man, in so short a period of time, with an army not exceeding 30,000 men, opposed to forces more than tenfold in number. It would be presumptuous in one, who is necessarily destitute of practical military knowledge, to attempt a solution of this problem; but he ventures to submit a few hints on this subject, which may diminish, in some degree, the difficulties of the case; and the rather, because they have been heard with approbation by gentlemen of the military profession:

1. He would venture to suggest, that the relative force of two unequal armies is not always to be estimated according to their numbers. Suppose, for instance, an army of 10,000 men were attacked by one of 100,000, it is evident that every individual of the greater could not, under any circumstances, be brought to act against every individual of the smaller army. This statement is yet more confirmed, if it appear that the smaller army has possessed itself of an advantageous situation, and if the battle is chiefly to be decided without the assistance of missile weapons. These remarks apply to most of the battles between the Macedonians and Persians, but especially to the battle of Issus.
2. If the contest had been to be decided by the single combats of a select number of Greek soldiers, with individuals in the service of the Persian monarch, there can be little doubt, but that the victory would have been quickly determined on the side of Alexander. The habits of the Greeks were military; they were trained from infancy to the use of arms; their limbs were strengthened by exercising at the public games and combats; whereas the forces of Darius consisted not of soldiers, but of men taken from their common occupations, and compelled to fight in the service of a monarch whom they neither revered nor loved. Besides, from their constant habits of warfare, and the recollection of the victories obtained by their ancestors over Xerxes and the former Darius, every Greek would be disposed to regard his Persian adversaries with contempt; as a sheep led to the slaughter, and almost incapable of defence.

3. Though Greece consisted of a number of different states, and its inhabitants conversed in several dialects, yet the army of Alexander had several important points of union. They were all called GREEKS, a term of distinction from every foreign or barbarous nation; they spoke a language sufficiently

the same to be intelligible to each other ; their religion was essentially one, though with some slight diversities of superstition ; and they were all intimately acquainted with each other, by a variety of transactions, both in peace and war. In the Persian army, on the contrary, a great variety of different languages were spoken ; many different forms of religion were observed ; different costumes were worn ; they fought with very different weapons ; and, in many instances, consisted of tribes who had never heard of each others existence till they met at the appointed place of rendezvous. The Greeks were accustomed to the utmost exactness of military discipline ; their armies had been trained to every kind of evolution ; had fought in the smallest numbers, and had minutely studied every advantage and disadvantage of occupation. The Persians, on the other hand, were but an armed rabble, whom no arrangement could bring to act in concert, and whose dispersion, whenever it took place, was necessarily without recovery. To these might be added, some political reasons, which had considerable influence. However the Greeks might be divided by political parties, every Greek hated the Persians, as the invaders of his liberties, and the enemies of his gods. The forces of the great king had no liberties to lose. Many of them consisted of Greeks, who secretly wished success to the cause of their countrymen ; of Phœnicians, who hated the plunderers of Sidon ; and of Egyptians, who rejoiced in the expulsion and overthrow of the murderers of Apis. The contemplation of these causes will somewhat diminish our wonder at the rapid success of Alexander the Macedonian conqueror.

We proceed to notice the effects consequent on the establishment of the Macedonian empire. These were two, viz. the transfer of Greece into Asia, and Asia into Greece. In the first place, the victories of Alexander diffused over the East, the colonies, the language, the learning, the customs, and the arts of the Greeks ; and thus must have tended, on the whole, to the instruction and refinement of the human understanding. This circumstance should be duly regarded by those, who would minutely examine the language of scripture. In the times of the New Testament writers, the Asiatic manners were not wholly Eastern, but insensibly blended with practices derived from European conquerors. As to the second of the consequences of Alexander's victories, which has been stated, it appears that, not only an acquaintance with Asiatic affairs and a participation of Asiatic commodities were secured, but the adulation, the luxury, the voluptuousness, the treachery, and the cruelty of the East, extended their baneful influence to the person, the family, the officers, and the army of Alexander ; and thence diffused themselves through the Grecian states.

Alexander himself was so intoxicated with pride, as to assume the title and honours of a god. His generals having been accustomed to the perpetration of crimes in the service of another, felt themselves at liberty after his death to attempt the same for their own benefit; and each endeavoured either to obtain the empire, or at least to partake of the spoils of war, and establish a principality of his own. The army obeyed its leaders, unless when corrupted by bribery; and amidst these contests for power, the whole family of Alexander descended with violence into untimely graves.

4. These hostilities were at length terminated by the battle of Issus, B. C. 333, when the Macedonian empire was divided into four kingdoms. Thrace, (which was conquered by Syria, B. C. 281,) Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, each of which were successively subdued by the Romans at different periods. Of some of the causes connected with the ruin of these kingdoms we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. In the mean time, we may close this statement by remarking, that a pretty correct idea may be formed of the extent of the Alexandrian empire, if we consider it as comprehending all the Turkish and Persian empires, a portion of the North of India, and a part of Independent Tartary.

IV. The fourth great empire was that of ROME. In glancing at the history of this empire, it is natural to commence our observations with the building of the city. But here we immediately encounter an important difficulty. According to the general testimony of historians, Rome was founded 753 years before the Christian era; agreeably to which statement, 247 years must have passed during the reign of its seven kings, a longer period to be divided into so few reigns, than is readily to be paralleled in any authenticated history. Kings were expelled from Rome, and the consular government established, B. C. 506, Rome was burned by the Gauls, B. C. 393, and became the mistress of Italy, B. C. 266. The causes which concurred to raise so obscure and inconsiderable a city to such a pitch of elevation and power, appear to have been, principally, the three following. 1. The military character of Romulus, its founder, who not only endeavoured by his exhortations and example to inspire his subjects with courage, but also trained them to military discipline, and formed them into regular legions. 2. The peculiar circumstances of the Romans were eminently calculated to give energy to their character. Their city was peopled by refugees, whom the inhabitants of all the neighbouring towns and villages despised. The subjects of other states might gratify their pride by recounting

The achievements of a long line of ancestry ; but the Romans, as a people, had no ancestors. Whatever reputation they acquired, must have been obtained either by their personal valour, or by their intelligence and conduct in civil and social life. Hence, in the days of genuine Roman patriotism, they were accustomed to regard the social body as a whole, to make it their highest ambition to promote the welfare of the state, and to disregard every consideration of private advantage, whenever it interfered with the public benefit. These sentiments were strengthened by the state of comparative equality in which they remained during many ages, which excluded the indulgence of luxury, and long preserved them from the effeminacy of character consequent on wealth and voluptuousness.

3. Italy was, at that time, divided into a great number of independent states. North of the Tiber was Etruria, consisting of twelve states, united in one common league ; yet not only had these twelve states the power of peace and war, but each of the towns contained in those several states possessed a similar independence. The same constitution appears to have prevailed among the Latins to the South of the Tiber, and a great number of other independent states, who divided among themselves the residue of Italy. A similar spirit extended itself through the whole of the peninsula. The Romans, therefore, found no difficulty in subduing any single power with which they had to contend ; and as to wars of confederation, it has been already stated, that it is commonly found that some of the powers embarked in them fall off before the object of their alliance is obtained. Such were some of the causes which rendered the Romans the masters of Italy.

To the conquest of Italy succeeded the Punic wars, carried on between the Romans and Carthaginians, who inhabited a Phœnician colony, situate in the North of Africa, near the modern Tunis. These were three in number ; the first commenced B. C. 264, and ended B. C. 242, leaving the Romans in possession of Sicily. The second began B. C. 218, and ended B. C. 201, when the Romans remained in possession of Spain, and other Carthaginian provinces in Europe ; and the third ended in the destruction of Carthage, B. C. 146. There was a considerable difference between the character and circumstances of these contending parties. The Romans at first were an agricultural people, little, if at all, engaged in commerce : their forces consisted either of native troops, or allies trained to similar discipline ; their armies were composed chiefly of heavy armed foot, inured to military hardships and labours. Their territories at that time comprehended the whole of modern Italy, and they had some few

allies in France, Spain, and Germany. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, were a commercial people, whose strength consisted in wealth, in shipping, and in merchandise. Their possessions comprehended Carthage, and some other towns in its vicinity ; they had also acquired a preponderance over the neighbouring African states ; and had acquired, by conquest, the greater part of Sicily and Spain, with the whole of Sardinia and Corsica. The most important of the Punic wars, was the second ; in which Rome appeared, by the victory of Cannæ, by Hannibal, to have been brought to the brink of destruction. If we enquire into the causes which ultimately led to the Roman ascendancy, it will appear, that it depended greatly on the character of the generals of the respective armies. On the side of Rome, there were several second-rate generals of distinguished eminence ; but on the side of Carthage were several subordinate commanders, and one, the celebrated Hannibal, who justly claims the first rank among the warriors of antiquity. It was, therefore, the obvious policy of Rome, to divide the operations of the war ; whilst, on the contrary, it was that of Carthage to keep it united. But the Carthaginians, through their jealousy of the family of Hannibal, divided their force, and attempted to carry on the war at the same time, in Spain, Sicily, and Italy ; and thus gave an opportunity to the Roman generals to defeat their Carthaginian rivals, and at length to contend successfully even with the incomparable Hannibal himself.

After the fall of Carthage, the contest lay chiefly between Rome, and the several fragments of the Macedonian empire. In this the Romans prevailed not less by policy than by force, and their policy was of the darkest and most disingenuous kind. When, for instance, they made war on the Macedonians, they proclaimed liberty to the Grecian states ; but no sooner had they obtained the ascendancy, than they proved that this promised liberty consisted only in a tame submission to the will of the republic. In like manner, when they invaded Syria, they proclaimed liberty to the Asiatic Greeks, and promised independence to those princes who had established themselves on its borders. They readily made peace with such powers as submitted to their authority ; but the compact was advantageous only to the superior party. The defeated state must neither make peace nor war, without the leave of the republic. Thus the peace lasted only as long as it answered the purpose of the Romans, and then was easily violated by exciting any power to take up arms against the conquered country.

By whatever means the Roman republic established itself throughout the world, its extent may be pretty correctly estimated, by adding together the

following countries, England, Scotland, South of the Friths, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, the Southern part of Holland, Germany, Hungary, South of the Danube, and the Turkish empire, together with the various islands in the Mediterranean sea.

The consequences of the establishment of the Roman empire were most important to mankind, and were both beneficial and pernicious. 1. The *beneficial* consequences were very considerable. In consequence of the wide extent of the Roman dominions, a traveller might proceed from the banks of the Frith to those of the Euphrates ; or from the Danube to the Nile, under the protection of the same laws, under the administration of a similar magistracy, and without setting his foot upon an inch of foreign ground. This afforded a facility for commercial and other pursuits, of which modern times have little or no conception. It ought also ever to be remembered, that wherever Rome carried her victorious arms, she cherished also a disposition for useful and permanent public works. Through all the provinces she conducted highways, built aqueducts, erected temples, and, in fine, contributed to the erection of all kinds of public edifices, which could advance either the grandeur or the comfort of her province. She did more ; the youth of the provinces, if they were low in civilization, were invited to her civil and military schools, obtained an acquaintance with the Roman language, learning, and laws ; and thus the seeds of civilization were early sown in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Her glories have long since faded ; the sceptre of her power is broken for ever ; the countries of Europe have changed their names and their possessors ; yet the precious fruits of civilization, which we still continue to reap in abundance, are the produce of those seeds that were sown among our ancestors by the strong hands of their Roman conquerors.

2. The *pernicious* consequences of the Roman ascendancy were more numerous, though perhaps not equally permanent. The first of these was the decay of public virtue. It has been already mentioned that the Romans were in the early period of their history firmly united, and that the predominant wish of each individual among them was, the prosperity of the whole. While Rome acted on the defensive, and confined her ambition to the protection of her own liberties, the resistance of aggression, and the maintenance of a high character for justice, fortitude, and moderation among her neighbours, the public and private feelings of her citizens would concur to nourish the same sentiments : but when the republic launched on the stormy ocean of a boundless

ambition, and sought by all means, whether just or unjust, an increase of territory and influence; as was natural, the several members of the state felt themselves at liberty to act unjustly on their own account, as well as on that of their country. The further the armies were removed from the metropolis of the empire, and the more sensibly they felt that Rome had but a remote connection with the interested object, the less were they influenced by motives of patriotism, and the more exposed to temptations to seek their private aggrandizement in those remote stations. These evils would be increased by the compact between the Roman general and his soldiers, (the latter of whom were sworn implicitly to obey the former,) and by the excellence of the Roman discipline, which made each encampment resemble a city, where every soldier felt himself at home. These and other circumstances tended to produce so firm an union between a popular and successful general and his troops, that we are not surprised to find it recorded at length that the armies of Julius Cesar offered to follow their illustrious captain whithersoever he pleased, even though it should be to subvert the boasted liberties of Rome.

A second consequence, which stands in close connection with the former, was the extinction of political liberty. When private motives had corrupted the different orders of the state, and the armies had become more attached to their generals than to the republic, it required but a spark to explode the tottering remains of the venerable fabric of Roman liberty. All the departments of government became corrupt, the instruments of acquiring wealth, and the means of indulging luxurious habits. Men of powerful families, of great wealth, or of uncommon popularity, found means to accumulate a variety of offices; until at length three or four of these aspiring senators monopolized all the honours and emoluments of the state. When they agreed, the country was oppressed; when they differed, it was deluged with blood. At length such successful adventurers arose as Julius Cesar and Augustus, the former of whom possessed the most exalted military virtues, and the most cultivated policy; the latter had scarcely any thing in his favour but a profound knowledge of mankind, that deep dissimulation which is sometimes mistaken for consummate prudence, and the talent of profiting by the failings of others. By these means Augustus established that mode of government which has been denominated the Roman empire. That so vast a body of the Roman commonwealth should be subject to one supreme head, would not perhaps have been an event to be deplored, had it not been for some peculiar circumstances. There were two orders of men, who were more likely than any other to be exposed to imperial

jealousy ; the senators, whom the emperors regarded as a body of republicans, restrained only by fear from accomplishing their ruin ; and military officers, who had obtained sufficiently splendid victories to render them formidable competitors, if their ambition should prompt them to aspire to the throne. They were soon surrounded by multitudes of flatterers, who paid them court for interested purposes,—by informers, who accused of treason all those whom it was thought desirable to remove,—and by venal wretches of every description, who sought their own aggrandizement by feeding the cruelty of tyrants, and accomplishing the destruction of the most illustrious citizens.

A third consequence of the establishment of the imperial government was the corruption of the Roman senate ; an event which led in its train innumerable calamities and miseries. Had the senate remained a truly independent body, the authority of their advice and example might have moderated the conduct of the emperors, and ultimately rendered the empire a mixed and deliberative government. But the individual members of this once venerable body were corrupted by all those luxurious practices, which are generally consequent on enormous wealth ; while, as a collected body, they met rather to flatter than advise ; to lavish new honours on the reigning prince, or to execrate his memory, as soon as he was hurled from an unsteady throne. The interest of the senate was regarded both by prince and people, as distinct from their own ; and consequently they were delivered up without pity by the one, to suffer the vengeance of the other.

A fourth consequence of the imperial domination, was the oppression of the Roman provinces. The several provinces of the empire were placed under governors, who were men of great influence at court, and who well knew that the term of their government in these provinces was always limited, and frequently precarious ; while it furnished them with an opportunity of amassing enormous wealth. Hence those various acts of oppression which were constantly practised by the proconsuls, and which induced many of the provincial subjects of the Roman empire to prefer a residence among their barbarian neighbours.

A fifth consequence respected the capital itself, which became the great centre of all moral depravity. It is a well established truth that wealth tends to introduce luxury, and destroy the public morals ; but this remark is more particularly applicable to wealth acquired by civil and military plunder, without the

aid of commercial industry. The wealth of Rome was of this pernicious kind ; much of it was expended in bestowing largesses upon the people, and dissipating their minds with amusements of the theatre. These popular entertainments were of a most horrible description. Foreigners, whose only crime had been that of fighting in defence of their country, and who had been reduced to a state of slavery, were trained up to be gladiators ; and it was the savage gratification of the Roman people to see them perish by the talons of wild beasts, or by each others weapons. A people who could thus be gratified, deserved the ruin which fell upon their heads, when (as will be seen in the next lecture,) their armies were broken and scattered by the barbarians who invaded and desolated their country.

Among other causes of the ruin of the Roman empire, the building of Constantinople, (A. D. 328,) has been mentioned ; but this must be understood with some limitation ; for Constantinople maintained, during a period of 1100 years after the fall of the western empire, an imperial succession, which claimed the honours of the Roman name.

We may close this lecture with two general observations. 1. It appears to be universally a religious and moral principle, applicable alike to all nations and individuals, that injustice, cruelty, and other crimes, cannot be practised on our fellow-creatures without a re-action which tends immediately or remotely to bring down destruction on our own heads. 2. We have seen that a vast number of enormous evils attended and followed the establishment of the four great monarchies, the Babylonian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman ; but we should not lose sight in our estimate of the great mass of blood and treasures, which must have been expended in the continued conflicts of those independent nations of which they were composed.

Notes

TO THE THIRD LECTURE.

Of the antiquity of the Egyptians.—Few nations seem to possess such fair pretensions to records of remote antiquity as the Egyptians. Two of the principal writers of classical times made it their particular task to compile the history of Egypt; and they completed their design, not by amassing the relations and idle fictions current among their own people, but by going in person to the country, and making themselves acquainted with its general history, either by conversation with the learned among the natives, or by the study of their original records. Besides the works of these authors, a series of the monarchs of Thebes was written according to the order of Ptolemy Philopator, by Erastosthenes, a learned Greek of Cyrene, who was appointed keeper of the Alexandrian library. His work was an extract from the sacred records of Thebes. But the famous history of Manetho was much more ample than any of the above; and if we had received it entire, would probably have left little to be desired. The last writer was an Egyptian chief priest, and skilled in all the learning of his native country. He was chosen as a man of eminent intelligence and credit by Ptolemy Philadelphus, to form an abstract from the sacred registers, which had been kept by the priests in the Egyptian temples. These were translated by him into Greek, and deposited in the library at Alexandria. But though so much care has been bestowed with such eminent advantages on the elucidation and conversation of the Egyptian antiquities, we are yet wandering in errors and uncertainty concerning them. The Greek historians, whose works alone remain to our times, do not appear to have understood the system of the Egyptian chronological records. They have given us only a few names of the early Egyptian kings, and we have nothing like a connected series from these writers, till after the reign of Sesostris, which leaves an immense chasm in the early period of the monarchy. Even in the latter part of the series, there are many imperfections. The writings of Manetho and Erastosthenes have perished, and nothing of them remains to us, except some abstracts by later historians; and these are so imperfect, that although many learned chronologers have laboured to illustrate them, no very perspicuous result has been obtained. We have not even an opportunity of comparing the two writers together; for only the former part of the catalogue of Theban kings given by Erastosthenes has reached our times; and the compilation of Manetho is altogether defective in that part of the history. The monarchy of Memphis was the principal object of his attention.

After so many professed antiquarians have failed of deducing any clear arrangements from the mutilated Egyptian annals, we may incur the imputation of temerity in attempting to make any use of them for our present purpose. But though they disappoint the design of chronologers, and afford no means of fixing with exact precision the different epochs of dynasties and successive reigns, they may furnish some conclusions very useful in the general views of history, which we are aiming to attain. They will enable us to fix with a high degree of probability the era of the Egyptian monarchy within a century or two, which is near enough our object.

The fragment of Manetho which Josephus has left us in his letter to Apion, bears every appearance of being a genuine piece of history, and gives much reason to regret the imperfect state in which we find all the other remains of that respectable author. For in the catalogues extracted by Eusebius and Africanus, there is even cause for suspecting interpolation, and abundant proof that they have been much mutilated. But errors flowing from such sources have been very falsely charged on the Egyptian historian, whose credit with all antiquity deservedly stood very high. Indeed if we contemplate the abstract of his history in that point of view in which sir John Marsham and his followers have very clearly shewn that it ought to be considered, there is nothing in it which does not agree with probability and with the scriptural chronology. The duration of the successive reigns is in general very moderate, and does not far exceed the real average; which is more than can be said of a great portion of the classical records of Greece.

Manetho gives us the account of Sesostris, whom he calls Sethosis and Ramesses; but he is much less extravagant in his account of the exploits of that hero than either Herodotus or Diodorus; for he makes no mention of any expedition to Europe or to India, but only says that Sethosis was successful in war against Cyprus, Phœnix, the Assyrians and Medes, and conquered cities and countries in the East of Asia. This prince was, as our author assures us, the *Ægyptus* of the Greeks, and his brother Armaisothe Danaus, who led a colony to Peloponnesus.

From this remark we are enabled to fix the era of Sesostris at a few generations, and perhaps at about two hundred years before the Trojan war.

Manetho reckons eighteen years between Sethosis and the exit of the Shepherds from Egypt. The dynasty of Shepherds consists of six monarchs. The average length of reigns computed by Dr. Hales from an extensive comparison of successions, is twenty-two and one-third years, which gives an interval of 536 years between the arrival of the Shepherds in Egypt and the accession of Sesostris.

Thus the period of the former event is tolerably well fixed, as far as we can rely on the testimony of Manetho, at about 750 before the Trojan war.

Fourteen dynasties of princes are given by Eusebius and Africanus from Manetho, who are said to have reigned in Egypt before the invasion of the Shepherds. Five of these were successions of kings who reigned at Memphis. The other nine dynasties ruled over different parts of Egypt, which was divided into several kingdoms, as those of Memphis, Diospolis, Thinis and Elephantine.

The dynasties of Memphites are as follows:

The first dynasty of Memphites consisted of 9 kings,	
The second,	of 8,
The third,	of 6,
The fourth held the kingdom not one year,	
The fifth,	of 5,

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Twenty-eight reigns would, according to the average of Dr. Hales, occupy 625 years. Thus we find the foundation of the Memphite kingdom removed 1161 years from the age of Sesostris, or 1361 before the Trojan war.

If the remaining dynasties are computed in the same manner, the other kingdoms are found to commence at a period not very distant from the era of Memphis.

It thus appears, that if we can rely at all on the most authentic documents which relate to the early Egyptian chronology, the Memphite monarchy had lasted from thirteen to fourteen centuries before the Trojan war; and therefore if we receive the common date of the latter event, we must suppose the Egyptian nation to have existed about twenty-five centuries before the Christian era, which will agree very well with the chronology of the Septuagint. But if we adopt the reduced epoch of Sir Isaac Newton, who places the destruction of Troy in the year 904, B. C. we must subtract two centuries from the supposed duration of this monarchy.

There are many reasons which induce a belief that this calculation of the antiquity of Egypt is not overrated.

The sciences of geometry and astronomy are known to be of great antiquity in Egypt. Indeed the local circumstances of that country must have directed the attention of its inhabitants at a very early period to the revolution of the seasons, and to the motions of the stars, as denoting their progress. Many proofs have been recorded of the accuracy of the early Egyptian astronomers. The heliacal risings and settings of the stars were marked by them for every day in the year, and some of the most curious of these observations have been transmitted to us. These may be considered as authentic vouchers of the advancement of the sciences in this country, and serve as far more faithful documents than the frequently confused narrations of historical events.

The theory of the dog star was particularly studied by the Egyptians as connected with their rural year. An observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius has been preserved by Ptolemy, which proves that we have not demanded for this people too high a period of antiquity. The observation is recorded to have been made on the fourth day after the summer solstice, and it is calculated that it must have been in the year 2250, B. C.

Moreover the scriptural accounts will not suffer us to subtract much from the era assigned for the origin of this nation. Abraham visited Egypt, according to the chronology of the seventy, about 2000 years before Christ. He found there an established monarchy, with all the forms of civil government. The king had at that time the name of Pharaoh, whence it would appear that the same political system then existed with which we become better acquainted at a subsequent period. But we gain more information from the account of the descent of the Israelites into Egypt three generations afterwards, and from the histories of Joseph and Moses. The author of the Divine legation has given us a careful analysis of all the circumstances mentioned in these narrations compared with the more ample details of the Greek writers, whence he obtains the important inference that the institutions of Egypt, civil and religious, as well as the general character of arts and society in that kingdom, were in a very similar state in the age of the patriarchs to that in which Herodotus and the later Greek historians found them.

Of the antiquity of the Indians.—No nations on earth appear to have made such extravagant pretensions to antiquity as the Hindus and Chinese. The prodigious spaces of time which they assign to the epochs of their history not only exceed all the possible bounds of belief, but are so vast, that the mind is scarcely able to comprehend them.

It is certain that these eras were in their original design a sort of astronomical cycles or periods. The astronomers of Hindustan invented them in order to facilitate their computations of the planetary motions, without any reference whatever to real history. It would appear, however, that for the sake of distinction, they afterwards adopted as names for their imaginary eras, certain more ancient designations, which had belonged to the periods or ages of the poetical history of the Hindus, corresponding with the four fabulous ages of the Greeks. These were the Satya, Treta, Dwapan, and Cali Yugs, which coincide with the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages. This double application of names became afterwards the prolific source of abundant extravagance and absurdity; for later writers, either from ignorance or fondness for the wonderful, confounded the astronomical eras with the historical ages; and adopted into their civil history the imaginary periods of the astronomers. Such at least is the solution given by the most intelligent and acute investigator who has undertaken the intricate subject of Hindu chronology.

The author alluded to has endeavoured to extricate the genuine history of the Hindus from the absurdity with which the ignorance of the modern Brahmans has overspread it. He has proved with arguments which have every appearance of validity, that, before the confusion introduced by the adoption of the immense eras above mentioned, the Hindus had two chronological systems perfectly agreeing with each other, and with the usual course of nature. He has demonstrated that this authentic history reaches very far back into antiquity; that it dates the origin of the empire of India under the lunar and solar races at twenty-two centuries before the Christian era, and the famous war of the Mahabharat, at eleven centuries before the same epoch.

The accounts given us by the Greek writers, though they fall far short of these dates, yet afford indirectly some confirmation of them.

The earliest notice we have in history concerning India, is the account of an expedition sent by Darius the father of Xerxes to discover the course of the Indus. We are informed that the district watered by that river was shortly afterwards added to the dominions of the great king; and it is clear that India must have been at that time in a high state of population and opulence, since we find that so small a part of it contributed a very principal portion of the annual revenues of this extensive and magnificent empire.

It is probable that India had attained as high a degree of civilization and wealth at this period, as it possessed two hundred years afterwards, when first visited by the Greeks.

The expedition of Alexander, and the residence of Megasthenes, have afforded us the opportunity of an extensive acquaintance with this country. In the relations of the latter we discover the remarkable fact that the state of the Indian people was very little different from what we now find it after the lapse of twenty-one centuries. We have observed above, that the political establishments corresponded perfectly with the ordinances of Menu, and with modern usage; and the comparison may be made to comprehend a much wider range. There is no important trait in the description of the antient Indians, which does not equally apply at the present day; nor have the modern Hindus any remarkable or leading character which is not mentioned in the history of their progenitors.

We may therefore look upon the Indian nation in the time of Megasthenes, as having the same state of manners, and possessing an equal degree of civilization with the present people of Hindustan. But when we consider that twenty-one, or perhaps twenty-three centuries have effected scarcely any perceptible change in the condition of society, we must conclude that a very long period of time would be requisite for the attainment of the present state. The civil arts of the Indians, different from those of many other polished nations, have been clearly of indigenous growth; and they are such as indicate a long and gradual progress of improvement. We can scarcely pass the true bound in assigning to the growth of this system a period at least equal to that which has elapsed since it first became known, nearly, in its present state, to the Greeks.

Such a conclusion is strongly confirmed by the remains of antient literature in India. It is agreed on all hands that the Hindus were a very learned people in remote times. Many of their compositions bear undoubted marks of great antiquity. Mr. Bentley has declared his full conviction that Valmīcī, author of the divine Ramayan, lived 1180 years before Christ. Sir W. Jones, judged, from internal evidence, that the Vedas were written 1200 years before our era, and had no doubt that the doctrines contained in them were taught by the Brahmans some centuries before that period. This appears the less extraordinary when we remark, as we shall hereafter more fully observe, that the antient Persian Magi were certainly a sect of Brahmans.

Of the antiquity of the Assyrian empires.—In forming our opinion of the antiquity of the Assyrian empires, of which Babylon and Nineveh were at different times the metropolitan cities, we must make our choice between two sets of historical guides, who are altogether at variance, and totally irreconcileable with each other. On one side we have Ctesias of Cnidus, and the writers who have followed him. Ctesias was a Greek physician, who accompanied the younger Cyrus in his unfortunate expedition into Mesopotamia; and being taken prisoner by Artaxerxes, resided seventeen years at the court of Susa. He pretended to

extract his history of Asia from the royal Persian records. Diodorus Siculus, who is often a compiler of little discrimination, has copied his account; and it has found its way, either wholly or in part, into all our modern system of chronology and antient history.

Against the relations of Ctesias, we have to set the authority of the sacred Scriptures, which Sir Isaac Newton has proved to be utterly incompatible with the statements of that writer. On this side also we have Claudius Ptolemæus, the famous astronomer and mathematician of Alexandria, author of the celebrated astronomical canon, which details the succession of the kings of Babylon, beginning with the era of Nabonassar. This record is throughout in perfect conformity with the scriptures, and has always been held in the highest estimation by the learned. Herodotus, who travelled in Assyria, and who was as indefatigable in inquiry as he was accurate and honest in recording the information he obtained, agrees in almost every particular with the last mentioned authorities, and is every where at variance with the wonderful relations of Ctesias.

If the credit of Ctesias were unquestionable on its intrinsic merits, few persons would set his statements against these authorities. But since his accounts of the Assyrian empire have been generally received, and through the negligence of Diodorus, Eusebius, and later writers, established in the canon of history, it will be worth while to mention some particulars which prove him to be altogether unworthy of any regard.

In the first place, if we suppose him to have possessed the best possible opportunities of information, still his assertions would not deserve the least attention, since we are certain of his propensity to falsehood in matters where he was or pretended to be a personal witness. For the same Ctesias was the author of the Indica, in which he professes to have seen many wonderful and portentous things that never existed, and gives sufficient evidence of his contempt of truth and love of marvellous narration.

But there is in the Assyrian history itself, sufficient proof of falsehood; for the whole series of events narrated, is a mass of the most absurd and improbable fictions that ever were invented, and contradicts the testimony of the historians of all countries.

The names of the Assyrian monarchs mentioned in Scripture and in Ptolemy's Canon, are, as Sir Isaac Newton has remarked, of a peculiar kind. They are compounded names, having common elements in most of them, such as Assur, Adon, Pul, Melech, &c. Of this kind are Tiglath-Pul-Assar, Salmon-Assar, Assar-Haddon, and all the others may be analysed in like manner. But the names of Ctesias's list have no affinity whatever to these. They are evidently an ignorant forgery; being a mixture of Greek, Persian, Egyptian, and other names, as Laosthenes, Dercythes, Amyntas, Xerxes, Mithraus, Sethos.

Of those events, which, happening in a later period, are well ascertained, and may be regarded as historical facts, Ctesias is entirely ignorant. Thus of the empire of the Assyrians described in Scripture, and established by Pul and his successors, this writer makes no mention. Indeed its very existence is incompatible with his history; for he assures us that Nineveh was utterly destroyed by Arbaces the Mede, at an earlier period than the origin of the Ninevite power in authentic history, and 300 years before the reigns of Cyaxeres, Lebynetus, or Nebuchadnezzar, who really destroyed it.

On the whole, it may be fairly concluded, that no fact which rests on the authority of Ctesias is to be believed. His history is a series of fictions. The antient Assyrian empire, perhaps, never existed, except in his imagination. It is certain that the renowned Semiramis, queen of Babylon, lived only six reigns, or 120 years before that imperial state was finally subverted by the Persians. Her principal performance was the making a mound and a gate to the city.

The true origin of the Assyrian empire is proved by Newton to have been about the time of Pul, who first made his appearance on the West side of the Euphrates 771 years before Christ, in the reign of Menahem king of Israel. It was prophesied of shortly before by Amos, as a power not yet in existence.

The origin of Babylon was probably connected with that of Nineveh. The first notice we have of it in history is the reign of Nabonassar, which is the beginning of Ptolemy's canon. But this king was apparently not the first of his line. He is said to have collected the acts of his predecessors, and to have destroyed them, in order that the computations of the Babylonians might be made from his own reign. Hence the historic era of Nabonassar began with his accession, B. C. 747; but this year was the 120th of the astronomical period of the Chaldeans, which consisted of 1460 years, and answered to the Sothic year of the Egyptians. This cycle, therefore, commenced 867 years B. C.; but at what time the Chaldean state began to exist, cannot be determined; and it may have been probably of very old date, for the priesthood of Babylon seems to be the remains of some more antient order.

Thus we find that a nearer scrutiny into the history of the Egyptians, Indians, and Assyrians, removes one of the greatest obstacles which lie in the way of our hypothesis concerning the antient close connection, or common origin of the former nations. We find that the Egyptians and Indians certainly existed as great and powerful nations long before the first rise of the Assyrian power. Pritchard's Researches, p. 424—444.

Philosophy of History.

LECTURE IV.

Character of the Northern Barbarians.—The Feudal System.—Modern Europe.—Revolutions in Asia, Africa, and America.

IN the preceding lecture, some of the internal causes, which accelerated the fall of the Roman empire, were adverted to ; causes which silently, but effectually, sapped the foundations of that mighty fabric, and made it first totter to its base, and then levelled it with the dust. We have now to contemplate the operation of external causes in achieving the ruin of proud imperial Rome ; and to observe the fair structure of modern civilization, which rose like a phoenix out of its ashes. The character of the Barbarians, (as they have usually been called,) who overran the Roman provinces, and finally subdued the empire, first claims our attention.

The Barbarians may be divided into three classes. 1. The Northern Barbarians of the first irruption. 2. The Eastern Barbarians ; 3. The Northern Barbarians of the second irruption.

1. The Northern Barbarians of the first irruption may be arranged according to the countries in which they settled. To begin with Great Britain, in which we find particularly, the *Angles*, the *Saxons*, and the *Jutes*. These nations are all of Germanic origin, and appear to have been well acquainted with each other, previous to their invasion of Britain in the fifth century. The *Jutes*, as their name implies, were the inhabitants of Jutland, in Denmark ; the *Angles* occupied Sleswick ; and the *Saxons*, Holstein, and some neighbouring

districts of northern Germany. In France, there were principally settled two nations, the *Franks*, and the *Burgundians*. The appellation *Franc*, (from which is derived the modern name of France,) is said not to have belonged to any particular tribe, but to have been an honorable designation, implying that they were free men, belonging to an association of German tribes, confederated together to resist the Roman authority, and maintain their independence. The *Burgundians*, who settled in the South-eastern provinces of France, are by some considered as the progeny of Roman legionary soldiers, and the native women with whom they associated; and consequently, as having occupied a middle place between the Romans and Barbarians.

In Spain, we find the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and the *Suevi*. The Goths settled in Spain, were the Visi or Western Goths, who formed one of the two great divisions of that once formidable people. They occupied particularly the northern parts of Spain, and were combined with the *Alauni*, who gave their name to the province of Catalonia; but they ultimately became masters of the whole peninsula, and, to this day, their blood is accounted the most honorable in Spain. The Vandals, like the Goths, were of northern origin; their name is said to signify a wandering people; they dwelt chiefly in the South of Spain, and gave their name to the province of Andalusia; but at length they abandoned Spain to establish a kingdom in Africa, which was overturned by the forces of Justinian, by whom the Vandal nation was almost annihilated. The Suevi appear to have been also a nation of wanderers, as their name is said to denote. They occupied Portugal and the adjacent country, but were soon forced to submit to the Gothic yoke.

In Italy, we may trace three distinct nations, the *Lombards*, the *Heruli*, and the *Ostro-Goths*. The origin of the Lombards, and of their name, is involved in considerable uncertainty. They settled in the North of Italy, where they established a kingdom, which still retains their name, though they ultimately became victims to the policy of papal Rome, and the power of the emperor Charlemagne. The *Heruli* seem to have been a mixed race, who, for a short time, established themselves in the midst of Italy, and deserve peculiar mention in this lecture, because it was their king Odoacer, that (A. D. 479,) put a period to the Roman empire in the West. The *Ostro-Goths* occupied all the South of Italy, and were at one time in possession of a powerful and well governed kingdom. The Gothic family, to which they belong, is generally admitted to have been of Swedish origin; but to trace its various migrations from the most northern to the most southern parts of Europe, is exceedingly intricate and, in

many instances, impossible. In Germany, we find one nation of high reputation, namely, the *Allemanni*; a combination of tribes, whose name agrees in sound and sense with the English words *All-men*, and is intended to imply, either that they were all valiant persons, or that they were collected from many different nations.

2. The Eastern Barbarians were principally of three nations; the *Huns*, the *Avari*, and the *Bulgarians*. The Huns appear to have been of Mongul origin, and to have proceeded from some of the more distant provinces of Asia. Both the Huns and the Avari settled in Hungary, which, from the union of those two nations, has derived its name. The remarkable change in their complexion, and in the expression of their countenances, which ensued upon their permanent settlement in Europe, has been already noticed in the first lecture. The Bulgarians were also an Asiatic people, who are supposed to have resided for some time in the neighbourhood of the Volga, which has from them received its name. They afterwards established themselves in that province of Turkey, which was afterwards called Bulgaria. These three barbarous nations were remarkable for the extent of their devastations, in which they far exceeded the northern Barbarians of the first irruption. This may be in some measure accounted for by their pastoral modes of life. They conquered with a view to occupy the territories of their vanquished enemies; and as they scorned to eat bread, they desired nothing so much as immense pastures, in which to feed their flocks. Hence they considered man as an incumbrance, and destroyed him without remorse or pity.

3. The Northern Barbarians of the second irruption, were the *Danes*, who inhabited Denmark; and the *Normans*, or *North-men*, from Norway and Sweden. These did not make their appearance till the Northern Barbarians of the first irruption had established themselves, and had become the founders of civilized kingdoms: but they were the terror of the nations inhabiting the coasts of Europe, and its principal islands, during the ninth, tenth, and part of the eleventh centuries. It is necessary, in the present instance, to interrupt the chronological order of events, whilst we endeavour to account for that peculiar ferocity of disposition, which distinguished their character. Wherever they landed, they proceeded to massacre men, women, and children, and seemed to delight in nothing so much as in the wounds, and dying agonies of those who had never given them the slightest offence. It must here be remarked, that many of these invaders were mere pirates, *vikings*, or bay kings, who had no landed possessions, and who thought it beneath them to sleep on the shore. These

having no idea of forming permanent settlements, were accustomed to destroy whatever they were unable to carry away. It appears also from the historical records of these fierce barbarians, that they were frequently wrought up to a kind of fury, which delighted in desolation and slaughter, and did not more rejoice in war, as a source of victory or of wealth, than as the instrument of devastation and destruction. In those ages and countries, indeed, the human mind seems to have been excited continually to such a degree of martial frenzy, as rendered them most formidable enemies, and almost forms an exception to the general history of man. [Notes A. and B.]

In comparing the three classes of Barbarians which have just been enumerated, it is to be observed, that the first and third were alike members of the great German family; and that some of the observations which we are about to make on the former, will also be found applicable to the latter, except that among the latter the social character attained to a higher degree of ferocity.

In the character and condition of the first class of Northern Barbarians, at least five motives for the invasion of the Roman empire may be discovered. 1. They cultivated the land by means of slaves, and were so far advanced in civilization, as to value the fruits of agriculture, and yet too indolent and warlike to procure them by patient industry. Hence would arise a disposition to attribute even more than was just to the coldness of their climate, and the sterility of their soil; and for the same cause they would be desirous of occupying the possessions of others, whose territories afforded richer harvests as the reward of lighter labours. 2. It was obviously the interest of the Gothic kings to cherish a martial spirit among their subjects, since they possessed scarcely any authority in times of peace. 3. Their religious system was in the highest degree favourable to a military spirit. They believed that after death, such as had bravely expired in the field of battle, would pass to the hall of Woden, and there employ ages of immortality in drinking strong ale out of the skulls of their enemies; that when they were wearied with feasting, the warriors would arise from the table, mount their horses, rush forth to battle, and furiously contend with each other, until, on a given signal, the feast would be renewed, every wound healed, and the warriors again sit down with fresh delight to the voluptuous entertainment. It is manifest, that such sentiments would tend to make them not only warlike, but desperate and cruel; regardless of their own lives, and disposed to sacrifice those of their enemies in honour of their gods. Accordingly we find that our Saxon ancestors, before they returned from an

expedition, were accustomed to devote every tenth captive as a victim on the sea shore. 4. In many instances these barbarian invaders were driven onward towards the Roman frontier by the attacks of fiercer tribes, that pressed upon their rear, and expelled them from the countries in which they had previously settled. 5. In addition to all these considerations, they had received many injuries from the Romans, such as could not fail to excite them to deeds of cruelty and revenge. And here it should be recollected, how partially men review the history of their own quarrels and those of their ancestors. Whatever had been gained by the sword of these sanguinary invaders, would of course be considered as the legitimate fruits of victory; whatever injuries they or their ancestors had inflicted on the Romans, would be recited only as the exploits of the brave; while every injury which had been sustained from the imperialists, would be impressed with all the characters of infamy and injustice. But without having recourse to colouring, it must be admitted the Romans had frequently treated the ancestors of their Gothic invaders with the blackest treachery; and often had their countrymen been exposed to perish in the amphitheatre for the amusement of the Roman people.

If we enquire into the causes which enabled the Northern Barbarians to overturn the Roman empire in the West, we shall evidently perceive, that the former were never deficient in personal courage; so that the Romans must have derived their advantages, while they possessed them, from other sources. The forces that guarded the Roman empire consisted of thirty legions, each composed of 5,500 men. This formidable army was increased, as the difficulties and dangers of the empire were multiplied, and was still more augmented by numerous auxiliaries; but, it is probable, that the whole number of legionary soldiers never exceeded 600,000 men. These were stationed on the Friths of Scotland, the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, the Nile, in Barbary, and in Spain. It is therefore evident, that the Roman superiority would be endangered, as soon as any relaxation of discipline should diminish or destroy those artificial advantages to which Rome had been indebted for her ascendancy over the surrounding nations. The luxury which corrupted the court, the senate, and the capital, and which prevailed in a less degree in every province and free city of the empire, could not fail to find its way to the army. The soldiery became rich; and, having acquired property by different means, were naturally desirous of enjoying the spoils which they had obtained by successful plunder. Hence they became impatient of severe discipline, refractory, and seditious; they used their weapons rather from constraint than willingly. Their heavy armour was

laid aside, and lighter weapons were substituted in its place. They became mutinous and venal, expecting to have their obedience purchased by the largesses of their employers. The officers caught the same spirit, entered deeply into the affairs of state, and frequently attempted, with various success, to become possessors of the imperial purple. All these circumstances tended to raise the value of the subsidiary troops, which the northern nations furnished in great abundance. Settlements were frequently given them, and compacts made, that were often violated. To close the sad list of these unjust and calamitous proceedings, rival ministers in the eastern and western courts frequently excited the Barbarians to invade different provinces of the empire, in order to render their services necessary to the government, or to avenge themselves on their personal enemies. These are amongst the causes, which co-operated not only to render the Barbarians superior to the Romans in the field, but also to make them desirous of establishing themselves in such provinces as were either most contiguous, or most fertile and wealthy. [Note C.]

It will now be proper to glance for a moment at the consequences which followed the fall of the western Roman empire. Three of these were highly important. 1. The destruction of a vast number of the human species. The carnage occasioned by the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, was not, perhaps, so great as some have imagined ; for though multitudes of the provincials perished, the far greater part preserved their lives in the midst of the calamities which surrounded them. This will sufficiently appear from one consideration. It is exceedingly improbable, that the conquerors should adopt the language of the conquered, unless the latter remained superior in point of numbers ; yet the languages of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and the dialects of Switzerland, are all evidently founded on the Latin, which was the language of the vanquished party. 2. Amidst the prodigious waste of property, which attended these northern invasions, nothing has been so much lamented as the destruction of many celebrated works of science and art. Yet here some abatement must be made ; for it is to be observed, that many valuable writings of antiquity have perished from not having been transcribed, and many exquisite productions of art, for the want of a taste, sufficiently cultivated to appreciate them. That some of these were demolished by the Barbarians is rather a matter of regret than of surprise. Our northern ancestors were not, however, wholly destitute of an esteem for learning ; they venerated it as it existed in the songs and recitations of their scaldi or bards. But it was a species of learning without letters, which was transmitted by oral tradition, and

therefore was not accompanied with any veneration for books. In destroying the libraries of the antients, they consumed what they could not read, and scorned to learn; besides which, the books thus destroyed were in a foreign language, and treated of subjects which they did not understand. A large portion of the works of art were connected with the worship of idols, and therefore became legitimate objects of destruction to a people, who esteemed it impious to confine their divinities within the walls of temples. When the Barbarians became Christians, which in some instances preceded, and in others quickly followed, their invasion of the Roman territories, an additional motive was furnished them for breaking in pieces the statutes of the gods. 3. A third consequence of these irruptions, and the destruction of the Roman empire, was the *establishment of the feudal system*; a system of which much has been spoken, and many erroneous opinions entertained. It has been thought extremely complicated, and formed originally for the sole benefit of lordly oppressors. When, however, it is recollect, that the feudal system was not the work of any numerous and intelligent body of legislators, but the simultaneous effects of similar causes operating on a number of tribes low in civilization, and devoted to war, there will be reason to conclude that its first principles must have been extremely simple. It was the offspring of necessity and of circumstances. When any army of Northern Barbarians had seized upon a province, or any other division of the empire, and determined to occupy it as their future residence, it became necessary to fix upon some plan of government, which might secure harmony amongst the conquerors, guard against insurrections and revolts, and enable them to repel the attacks of their neighbours. A military discipline had already been established among them, which seemed well calculated to answer these purposes: their supreme commanders were, therefore, created kings; and, in parcelling out the subjugated country, they disposed of honours and estates, in proportion to the rank which the subordinate officers held in their armies. The obligations which had bound together the soldier, the captain, the general, and the commander-in-chief, were now renewed between kings, and counts, and barons, and subjects, under a variety of different forms. The tenures by which they held their estates, and the bonds by which they were cemented together, were, in the first instance, mutually advantageous. Thus the right of wardship must have been most grateful to the feelings of a dying warrior, who knew that the care of his surviving children devolved on his lord, the only person that was capable of protecting them. Yet this right was afterwards subject to the grossest abuse. In fine, the evils of the feudal system do not appear so much to have risen from a defect in the original design

as from an inflexible adherence on the part of our ancestors to antient customs after the face of society had materially changed, and when the laws and institutions of civilized life had gradually wrought such a revolution in the minds of men, that the feudal system became not only burdensome in its nature, but represssive of every thing truly valuable and excellent. [Note D.]

Beside the operation of those causes which connect themselves with settled residence, the state of Europe was gradually ameliorated, in consequence of a series of revolutions effected in the East by three descriptions of people, the Arabians, the Turks, and the Tartars.

1. *The Arabians.* These, as it is well known, were the inhabitants of that peninsula, whence they have derived their name; the greater part of which is a barren sand, incapable of affording food for man or beast. Such circumstances would naturally preserve them from the corrupting influence of luxury and wealth. They were also a highly military people, desirous of encreasing their property by the plunder of strangers. And here if the subject were not of too repulsive a nature, we might almost amuse ourselves with the different species of logic by which similar crimes have been defended. When Europeans have visited the coast of Africa, to sow dissention there among the inhabitants, involve them in predatory wars, and purchase the captives as slaves; or when, after the transportation of the unhappy negro to a distant clime, they treat him with the utmost barbarity, they have attempted to justify their conduct by contending, that people of so different a complexion can scarcely be supposed to belong to the same species with themselves. On the other hand, the Arabian pursues a very different train of argument, which leads him to a result equally convenient. All mankind, he tells you, were originally but one family, and the whole earth was their inheritance; other parts of this family received a portion of land, that was capable of cultivation; but Ishmael, their father, was driven forth into the desert, and had his sword assigned him for his support. The habit of restless hostility, which the Arabians have ever maintained, must have long since rendered them formidable to their enemies, had they not been continually exercised in petty contests among themselves; it being thought highly dishonourable to forgive an injury, and incumbent on the men of one generation to avenge the wrongs sustained by those of the preceding race.

In the year 620, the impostor Mahomet, who had long pretended to be a prophet of God, and the revealer of a new dispensation, erected his standard,

professing to have received a commission from heaven to propagate his religion by the sword. There was every thing in his assumed character, likely to render him the founder of a new empire. His supposed divine authority composed the differences existing among the Arabian chiefs; he was inspired, as they imagined, to regulate, with infallible wisdom and rectitude, all the transactions of their infant state: to his followers, he promised victory, if they fought in the spirit of faith; and if any of them fell in the field, they were enrolled in the list of martyrs, and immediately entered Paradise, without experiencing the sufferings of the Mahomedan purgatory. Wherever he pointed his sword, he did not drive his enemies to despair by threatening immediate extermination, but they had the offer of proselytism, (which included their admission to all the privileges of Mahomedans,) the payment of tribute, or death. Mahomet died, (A. D. 632,) after having established his authority throughout the peninsula of Arabia. Those who succeeded him in the government, were denominated caliphs or successors. By these, and by their generals, the politic designs of the founder of that dynasty were so successfully carried on, that before the year 817, they had conquered almost the whole of Spain and Portugal, established themselves in Sicily, subdued Russia, part of Independent Tartary, Asiatic Turkey, Egypt, and Barbary. The effects of the establishment of this empire were, the depression of the Jews and Christians within its widely extended limits, the establishment of a new and important channel of commerce, and the commencement of a new school of Arabian literature. The commerce and learning of the Arabians produced very considerable effects in Europe. The intercourse opened with Alexandria proved a principal source of wealth to the Italians; and this wealth fostered the liberties of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and various other states, and thus prevented the whole of Europe from sinking in the same gulf of feudal tyranny.

2. The Turks were also a pastoral people, who came from the East of the Caspian sea. Being men of stature, and good personal appearance, they were first introduced as military guards into the courts and armies of the Arabian princes, among whom the Saracen empire had been gradually divided; but, in process of time, they circumvented their masters, and seized for themselves the countries which they were appointed to guard. Under the name of Seljuiks, they established four kingdoms; one in Asia Minor, one in Syria, and two in Persia: but their most celebrated empire was the Ottoman, founded A. D. 1300, and prevailing at this day, over all that country which is called the Turkish empire. The establishment of the Turkish government produced principally two effects.

1. It gave occasion to *the crusades*, those religious wars which commenced in the year 1095, and in which immense numbers of Europeans embarked from a variety of motives; but professedly to rescue Palestine from the grasp of infidels, and thus secure to pilgrims and devotees free access to those holy places whose names are identified with the history of Jesus Christ. These expeditions occasioned indeed a prodigious waste of blood and treasure; but they served to withdraw from Europe, a number of violent spirits, persons of boundless ambition, who would have been likely to prevent the establishment of regular governments in their native countries, and introduce anarchy and civil discord wherever they went. The Europeans became also by this means better acquainted with Asiatic manners, learning, &c. 2. By the siege and plunder of Constantinople, in 1453, the Turks caused many of the most learned Greeks of that age to emigrate, by whom the precious stores of antient literature were diffused through the principal cities of Italy.

3. The Tartars rose into notice chiefly during the reign of Jenghiz Khan, who was born A. D. 1162. He was, by right of inheritance, the commander of a Tartar horde; but was for a long time under the necessity of carrying on wars with his rebellious subjects. At length, however, he not only established his own proper authority, but, after subduing many other tribes, was elected great khan of Tartary, A. D. 1205. From this period to that of his decease, which happened in 1227, he proceeded rapidly in a splendid career of victories; and his successors afterwards enlarged the empire, until it comprehended almost all that is now called Tartary, eastern or western, Persia, Turkey in Asia, and China. The Tartars also extended their desolations over a great part of Poland, Russia, and Hungary. The Tartar conquests were remarkable for the three following circumstances. 1. A prodigious destruction of the human species. The Tartar conquerors were perhaps the most sanguinary that ever existed. Jenghiz Khan is said to have occasioned the death of no fewer than twenty millions of his fellow-creatures. 2. The strict and vigorous administration of justice, wherever they succeeded in establishing their authority. This tended in some degree to repair the ravages which their military fury had occasioned. 3. The liberal protection afforded to artificers and merchants of every description, who visited their camps for commercial purposes, and in order to dispose of rare or valuable commodities. This induced many European adventurers to repair to the distant capitals of the Tartar empire, and even to penetrate into China, in which circumstance probably originated the first desire of accomplishing the navigation to India. Thus it appears that each of the great

series of eastern revolutions tended rapidly to accelerate the progress of civilization in Europe.

The condition of modern Europe differs from the state of things in the middle ages in two very important respects : 1. The feeling that all this portion of the world constitutes one vast commonwealth, which scarcely existed in former ages, now most extensively prevails, and regulates many of the political, commercial, and military transactions of Europeans. 2. In every part of Europe, the feudal system has been, in a great measure, laid aside ; and the mighty chieftains who long continued to arrogate to themselves the rights of war and peace, and accounted the serfs, that inhabited their estates, their baronial property, have since been deprived of those extravagant privileges, and compelled to abide by the decision, and submit to the supreme authority, of their respective governments. Throughout the greater part of Europe, monarchical power has preponderated over every other form of administration ; but, in our own happy country, a judicious mixture of government prevails ; and principles more favourable to liberty, and somewhat similar to our own, begin to be recognized in several European nations on the continent.

It might here be expected that some remarks should be made on that revolution which took place in France on the 14th of July, 1789. Neither on that, nor on any other general subject, are we unwilling that the world should be fully enlightened ; but we are situated too near the scene of action, and have been too deeply involved in the conflict, to be able to collect with sufficient accuracy the causes of that mighty movement, and still less to take a sufficiently comprehensive and impartial view of the numerous consequences, which are slowly following in its train. The friend of humanity may, however, console himself with the thought, that these events did not take place in a corner : they will be recorded in the annals of history ; the principal characters concerned in them cannot be forgotten ; but both themselves and their actions will probably be better understood by the next generation than the present. After the fever of human passions shall have subsided, they will furnish important instruction, both to rulers and their subjects ; as well as the most valuable materials for the benefit of historians, politicians, philosophers, and philanthropists.

Our attention must also be directed to the changes which have occurred in Asia. The most important of these are the invasion of China by the Independent or Mantchen Tartars, which changed the dynasty of that

empire, A. D. 1641; the invasion of Hindostan in the year 1739, by Nadir Shah; and the extensive conquests of the English after the subversion of the Mogul empire.

Of the different parts of Africa, where the Carthaginians formerly possessed great wealth and power, little was known, until the subsequent conquests of the Mahomedans, who, about the seventh century, invaded Spain, and threatened to overwhelm all Europe; when they were totally defeated by Charles Martel, near Tours, A. D. 732. The interior of Africa has not yet been explored.

America has hitherto acted only a subordinate part among the nations of the earth. The subversion of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru by a mere handful of Spaniards, affords an example of almost as great a disparity of numbers, and as signal success, as marked the conquests of Alexander the Great. This is to be attributed partly to the superiority of European discipline, and partly to the terror inspired by the use of gunpowder, horses, and dogs; and, in some respects, to the ignorance and timidity of the unfortunate inhabitants. Towards the close of the last century, the United States succeeded in establishing their independence; and, at the present time, the inhabitants of the Southern peninsula are making the most strenuous efforts to accomplish the same design. If the general question were proposed, Is it to be expected that such designs will be ultimately successful? two answers may with equal propriety be given. 1. Among all the nations of antiquity, where colonies have attained a certain growth, and have risen to a certain degree of power, they have endeavoured, and usually succeeded, in disengaging themselves from their mother country. 2. In order that nations long dependent on other countries may establish a respectable independence, a great degree of moral principle is requisite, as well as the general diffusion of knowledge. Where either of them is wanting, success is not to be anticipated.

But one more district of the habitable globe demands our attention in the present lecture, namely, the islands of the Southern sea, where the Sandwich islands exhibit a group peculiarly interesting. The great exertions of Tamahama, the king of that country, for the civilization of his countrymen, by training them to the use of European arms, and by the introduction of European arts and manufactures, may probably lead to important results, perhaps even to the erection of an insular monarchy of considerable force and wide extent. But here conjecture is endless. It is satisfactory to know, that considerable pains are

taking by philanthropic individuals, both in England and America, to introduce among the inhabitants of the Sandwich, Friendly, and Society Isles, those precious seeds of instruction, both religious and moral, which are far more important than the amplest territorial possessions.

In the course of this and the preceding lecture, numerous examples have presented themselves, in which nations, both barbarous and civilized, have exerted all their energies for mutual injury and destruction. It is evident, therefore, that we must look for some principle more powerfully operative than merely mental culture, to induce mankind to restrain their vicious habits, subdue their undisciplined self-love, and, by mutual concession, learn to treat each other with equity, benevolence, and compassion.

Notes

TO THE FOURTH LECTURE.

[Note A.] *ORIGIN and character of the barbarous nations.*—The Greeks had in very early times a confused idea of a nation inhabiting the most distant regions of the North, whom they called Cimmerii.

The Greeks had no knowledge of the Cimmerii, except by their famous invasion of Asia Minor. Of the irruption of these Barbarians from the North, then a recent event, some vague rumours reached Greece, as Strabo supposes, about the time of Homer. But Herodotus, by means of his acquaintance with the Lydians, learnt the true history of this people, and the quarter whence they came. We are informed by him, that they entered Asia by passing the strait called the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Their first settlements were on the European side of the Bosphorus and Palus Maeotis, whence they were expelled by the Scythians. Other authors confirm this relation. Pritchard's Researches into the Physical History of Man, p. 485, 486.

Towards the South and West, the Scythians had for their neighbours the Getæ. This nation was widely extended; for we shall observe that they, or tribes allied to them by kindred, occupied a considerable part of Lesser Asia, and reached thence far into the North of Europe.

The Thracians were a branch of the Getæ, or rather these names belonged to different departments of one great people. The Greeks, who were well acquainted with the former nation, gave the same appellation to all other tribes whom they found to be of the same stock.

Herodotus repeatedly affirms the Thracian and Getæ to be one nation. He says the Getæ were the most warlike of all the Thracians. *Ibid.* p. 487.

Thus we find that the antient Getæ extended from the vicinity of mount Taurus in Asia Minor, to the northern side of the Danube. So far we may trust the authority of the Greek writers. But they were incompetent to decide the historical question from which quarter the nation originally proceeded.

We trace the Getæ still further towards the North, by observing their affinity with the Dacians.

Pliny assures us that the Getæ and Dacians are the same nation. He says that the former name was given to them by the Greeks, and the latter by the Romans.

Strabo declares that the Daci spoke the same language with the Getæ; but he considers them as different tribes of the same nation. He says that in the antient divisions of countries, the Getæ were properly those tribes who lived towards the East, and on the shores of the Euxine; and those were Davi or Daci, who were settled westward, next to Germany and the sources of the Danube.

The same Geographer affirms the Triballi to be a Thracian tribe.

We shall now observe the Getæ assuming a more important station in the history of the world by identifying themselves with the Goths.

The hordes of Barbarians, who issued from the regions northward of the Danube, and poured themselves down upon the Roman empire in the reign of the emperor Decius, were called by all the writers in the succeeding ages, Getæ, and were considered universally as the same people who had been known from remote ages under that name. This opinion was received among the Romans; and afterwards, when the Barbarians became civilized, and committed their history to writing, it received their unanimous sanction. The latter called themselves Goths; and the Romans adopted this name when they became better acquainted with their new inmates. It finally prevailed over the antient appellation of Getæ. *Ibid.* p. 489—491.

The predatory incursions of Barbarians have seldom been, as some historical narratives would lead us to believe, migrations of whole tribes in quest of new settlements. The only persons fitted to embark in these perilous expeditions were young and robust warriors. The aged and infirm, and a certain part of the community engaged in the necessary works of agriculture, remained at home. It was only the superabundant population which thus disgorged itself by irruptions into the more civilized countries. But a single tribe was

seldom sufficiently numerous to furnish a predatory army, whose force should enable it to overpower all resistance. Hence several neighbouring states were often associated together in their enterprizes. The incursions of the Goths appear to have been conducted in this manner. Several tribes in their vicinity accompanied them. Hence we obtain the means of judging from what quarter the march of this people originated. If they proceeded from the northern extremity of Europe, we should probably find other nations confederated with them, who are known to have inhabited that region. But it is remarkable, that all the tribes who are said to have shared in the Gothic invasion, came from the vicinage of the proper Getæ, in the eastern parts of Europe, and from the neighbourhood of the Euxine. Many of them were Sarmatic tribes, from the southern parts of Scythia; and the progress of these people from the East, seems to have been connected with the approach of the Huns, who in a subsequent period entered the empire from the same quarter.

From all these circumstances, it appears that there is scarcely any fact of the kind better authenticated than that the Goths were the same people who had been known before under the appellation of Getæ. *Ibid.* p. 496—498.

Wherever they marched, their rout was marked with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred and what was profane. They respected no age, nor sex, nor rank. What escaped the fury of the first inundation, perished in those which followed it. The most fertile and populous provinces were converted into deserts; in which were scattered the ruins of villages and cities, that afforded shelter to a few miserable inhabitants whom chance had preserved, or the sword of the enemy, wearied with destroying, had spared. The conquerors who first settled in the countries which they had wasted, were expelled or exterminated by new invaders, who, coming from regions farther removed from the civilized parts of the world, were still more fierce and rapacious. This brought fresh calamities upon mankind, which did not cease until the North, by pouring forth successive swarms, was drained of people, and could no longer furnish instruments of destruction. Famine and pestilence, which always march in the train of war, when it ravages with such inconsiderate cruelty, raged in every part of Europe, and completed its sufferings. If a man were called to fix upon the period in the history of the world, during which the history of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy. The contemporary authors, who behold that scene of desolation, labour and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horrors of it. *The scourge of God, The destroyer of nations*, are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders; and they compare the ruin which they had brought on the world, to the havoc occasioned by earthquakes, conflagrations, or deluges, the most formidable and fatal calamities which the imagination of man can conceive.

But no expressions can convey so perfect an idea of the destructive progress of the Barbarians, as that which must strike an attentive observer, when he contemplates the total change which he will discover in the state of Europe, after it began to recover some degree of tranquillity, towards the close of the sixth century. The Saxons were by that time masters of the southern and more fertile provinces of Britain; the Franks, of Gaul; the Huns, of Pannonia; the Goths, of Spain; the Goths and Lombards of Italy, and the adjacent provinces. Very faint vestiges of the Roman policy, jurisprudence, arts, or literature, remained. New forms of government, new laws, new manners, new dresses, new languages, and new names of men and countries were every where introduced. To make a great or sudden alteration with respect to any of these, unless where the antient inhabitants of a country have been almost totally exterminated, has proved an undertaking beyond the power of the greatest conquerors. The great change which the settlement of the barbarous nations occasioned in the state of Europe, may therefore be considered as a more decisive proof, than even the testimony of contemporary historians, of the destructive violence with which these invaders carried on their conquests, and of the havoc which they had made from one extremity of this quarter of the globe to the other. *Dr. Robertson's Charles V.* p. 10—13.

[Note B.] Procopius, the historian, declines, from a principle of benevolence, to give any particular detail of the cruelties of the Goths; "Lest, says he, I should transcribe a monument and example of inhumanity to succeeding ages." But as the change which I have pointed out as a consequence of the settlement of the barbarous nations in the countries formerly subject to the Roman empire, could not have taken place if the greater part of the antient inhabitants had not been extirpated, an event of such importance and influence merits a more particular illustration. This will justify me for exhibiting some part of that melancholy spectacle, over which humanity prompted Procopius to draw a veil. I shall not, however, disgust my readers by a minute narration; but rest satisfied with collecting some instances of the devastations made by two of the many nations which settled in the empire. The Vandals were the first of the Barbarians who invaded Spain. It was one of the richest and most populous of the Roman provinces; the inhabitants had been distinguished for courage, and had defended their liberty against the arms of Rome, with greater obstinacy, and during a longer course of years, than any nation in Europe. But so entirely were they enervated by their subjection to the Romans, that the Vandals, who entered the kingdom A. D. 409, completed the conquest of it with such rapidity, that in the year 411, these Barbarians divided it among them by casting lots. The desolation occasioned by their invasion is thus described by Idatius, an eye-witness. "The Barbarians wasted every thing with hostile cruelty. The pestilence was no less destructive. A dreadful famine raged to such a degree, that the living were constrained to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow

citizens, and all those terrible plagues desolated at once the unhappy kingdoms." The Goths having attacked the Vandals in their new settlements, a fierce war ensued; the country was plundered by both parties; the cities which had escaped from destruction in the first invasion of the Vandals, were now laid in ashes, and the inhabitants exposed to suffer every thing that the wanton cruelty of Barbarians could inflict. From Spain, the Vandals passed over into Africa, A. D. 428. Africa was, next to Egypt, the most fertile of the Roman provinces. It was one of the granaries of the empire, and is called by an antient writer, the soul of the commonwealth. Though the army with which the Vandals invaded it did not exceed 30,000 fighting men, they became absolute masters of the province in less than two years. A contemporary author gives a dreadful account of the havoc which they made. "They found a province well cultivated, and enjoying plenty, the beauty of the whole earth. They carried their destructive arms into every corner of it; they dispeopled it by their devastations, exterminating every thing with fire and sword. They did not even spare the vines and fruit trees, that those, to whom caves and inaccessible mountains had afforded a retreat, might find no nourishment of any kind. Their hostile rage could not be satiated, and there was no place exempted from the effects of it. They tortured their prisoners with the most exquisite cruelty, that they might force from them a discovery of their hidden treasures. The more they discovered, the more they expected, and the more implacable they became. Neither the infirmities of age nor of sex, neither the dignity of nobility, nor the sanctity of the sacerdotal office, could mitigate their fury; but the more illustrious their prisoners were, the more barbarously they insulted them. The public buildings, which resisted the violence of the flames, they levelled with the ground. They left many cities without an inhabitant. When they approached any fortified place, which their undisciplined army could not reduce, they gathered together a multitude of prisoners, and putting them to the sword, left their bodies unburied, that the stench of the carcases might oblige the garrison to abandon it." St. Augustin, an African, who survived the conquest of his country by the Vandals some years, gives a similar description of their cruelties. About an hundred years after the settlement of the Vandals in Africa, Belisarius attacked and dispossessed them. Procopius, a contemporary historian, describes the devastation which that war occasioned. "Africa, says he, was so entirely dispeopled, that one might travel several days in it without meeting one man; and it is no exaggeration to say, that in the course of the war five millions of persons perished." I have dwelt longer upon the calamities of this province, because they are described not only by contemporary authors, but by eye-witnesses. The present state of Africa confirms their testimony. Many of the most flourishing and populous cities with which it was filled, were so entirely ruined, that no vestiges remain to point out where they were situated. That fertile territory which sustained the Roman empire, lies in a great measure uncultivated; and that province, which Victor, in his barbarous Latin *Speciositas totius terre florentis*, is now the retreat of pirates and banditti.

While the Vandals laid waste a great part of the empire, the Huns desolated the remainder. Of all the barbarous tribes they were the fiercest and most formidable. Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary author, and one of the best of the later historians, gives an account of their policy and manners; which nearly resembled those of the Scythians described by the antients, and of the Tartars known to the moderns. In some parts of their character, and in several of their customs, they resembled the savages in North America. Their passion for war and action was extreme. "As in polished societies, (says Ammianus,) ease and tranquillity are courted, they delight in war and dangers. He who falls in battle is reckoned happy. They who die of old age or of disease, are deemed infamous. They boast, with the utmost exultation, of the number of enemies whom they have slain; and, as the most glorious of all ornaments, they fasten the scalps of those who have fallen by their hands to the trappings of their horses." Their incursions into the empire began in the fourth century; and the Romans, though no strangers by that time to the effects of barbarous rage, were astonished at the cruelty of their devastations. Thrace, Pannonia, and Illyricum, were the countries which they first laid desolate. As they had at first no intention of settling in Europe, they made only inroads of short continuance into the empire; but these were frequent; and Procopius computes that in each of these, at a medium, two hundred thousand persons perished, or were carried off as slaves. "Thrace, the best cultivated province in that quarter of the empire, was converted into a desert; and when Priscus accompanied the ambassadors sent to Attila, there were no inhabitants in some of the cities, but a few miserable people who had taken shelter among the ruins of the churches; and the fields were covered with the bones of those who had fallen by the sword." Attila became king of the Huns, A. D. 434. He is one of the greatest and most enterprising conquerors mentioned in history. He extended his empire over all the vast countries comprehended under the general names of Scythia and Germany, in the antient division of the world. While he was carrying on his wars against the barbarous nations, he kept the Roman empire under perpetual apprehensions, and extorted enormous subsidies from the timid and trembling monarchs who governed it. In the year 451, he entered Gaul, at the head of an army composed of all the various nations he had subdued. It was more numerous than any with which the Barbarians had hitherto invaded the empire. The devastations which he committed were horrible; not only the open country, but the most flourishing cities, were desolated. The extent and cruelty of his devastations are described by Salvianus, and by Idatius. Aetius put a stop to his progress in that country by the famous battle of Chalons, in which, (if we may believe the historians of that age,) three hundred thousand persons perished. But the next year he resolved to attack the centre of the empire; and, marching into Italy, wasted it with rage, inflamed by the sense of his late disgrace. What Italy suffered by the Huns, exceeded all the calamities which the preceding

incursions of the Barbarians had brought upon it. Conringius has collected several passages from the antient historians, which prove that the devastations committed by the Vandals and Huns in the countries situated on the banks of the Rhine, were no less cruel and fatal to the human race. It is endless, it is shocking, to follow these destroyers of mankind through so many scenes of horror, and to contemplate the havoc which they made of the human species.

But the state in which Italy appears to have been, during several ages after the Barbarous nations settled in it, is the most decisive proof of the cruelty as well as extent of their devastations. Whenever any country is thinly inhabited, trees and shrubs spring up in the uncultivated fields; and, spreading by degrees, form large forests; by the overflowing of rivers, and the stagnating of waters, other parts of it are converted into lakes and marshes. Antient Italy, which the Romans rendered the seat of elegance and luxury, was cultivated to the highest pitch. But so effectually did the devastations of the Barbarians destroy all the effects of Roman industry and cultivation, that in the eighth century Italy appears to have been covered with forests and marshes of great extent. Muratori enters into a minute detail concerning the situation and limits of several of these; and proves, by the most authentic evidence, that great tracts of territory, in all the different provinces of Italy, were either overrun with wood, or laid under water. Nor did these occupy parts of the country naturally barren or of little value, but were spread over districts which antient writers represent as extremely fertile, and which at present are highly cultivated. A strong proof of this occurs in a description of the city of Modena, by an author of the tenth century. The state of desolation in other countries of Europe, seems to have been the same. In many of the most early charters now extant, the lands granted to monasteries, or to private persons, are distinguished into such as are cultivated or inhabited, and such as were *erenei*, desolate. In many instances, lands have been granted to persons because they had taken them from the desert, *ab eremo*, and had cultivated and planted them with inhabitants. This appears from a charter of Charlemagne, published by Eckpart, and by many other charters of his successors, quoted by Du Cange. Wherever a right of property in land can be thus acquired, it is evident that the country must be extremely desolate, and thinly peopled. The first settlers in America obtained possession of land by such a title. Whoever was able to clear and to cultivate a field, was recognized as the proprietor. His industry merited such a recompence. The grants in the charters which I have mentioned, flow from a similar principle, and there must have been some resemblance in the state of the countries.

Muratori adds, that during the eighth and ninth centuries, Italy was greatly infested by wolves and other wild beasts; another mark of its being destitute of inhabitants. Thus Italy, the pride of the antient world for its fertility and cultivation, was reduced to the state of a country newly peopled and lately rendered habitable. *Ibid.* p. 237—245.

[Note C.] *On the causes which produced the subversion of the Roman empire.*—The Romans having desolated Europe, set themselves to civilize it. The form of government which they established in the conquered provinces, though severe, was regular, and preserved public tranquillity. As a consolation for the loss of liberty, they communicated their arts, sciences, language, and manners, to their new subjects. Europe began to breathe, and to recover strength after the calamities it had undergone; agriculture was encouraged; population increased; the ruined cities were rebuilt; new towns were founded; an appearance of prosperity succeeded, and repaired in some degree the havoc of war.

This state, however, was far from being happy or favourable to the improvement of the human mind. The vanquished nations were disarmed by their conquerors, and overawed by soldiers kept in pay to restrain them. They were given up as a prey to rapacious governors, who plundered them with impunity; and were drained of their wealth by exorbitant taxes, levied with so little attention to the situation of the provinces, that the impositions were often increased in proportion to their inability to support them. They were deprived of their most enterprizing citizens, who resorted to a distant capital in quest of preferment, or of riches, and were accustomed in all their actions to look up to a superior, and tamely to receive his commands. Under so many depressing circumstances, it was hardly possible that they could retain vigour or generosity of mind. The martial and independent spirit which had distinguished their ancestors, became in a great measure extinct among all the people subjected to the Roman yoke; they lost not only the habit, but even the capacity of deciding for themselves, or of acting from the impulse of their own minds; and the dominion of the Romans, like that of all great empires, degraded and debased the human species.

A society in such a state could not subsist long. There were defects in the Roman government, even in its most perfect form, which threatened its dissolution. Time ripened these original seeds of corruption, and gave birth to many new disorders. A constitution unsound and worn out, must have fallen into pieces of itself, without any external shock. The violent irruption of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other Barbarians, hastened this event, and precipitated the downfall of the empire. New nations seemed to arise, and to rush from unknown regions, in order to take vengeance of the Romans for the calamities which they had inflicted on mankind. These fierce tribes either inhabited the various provinces in Germany which had never been subdued by the Romans, or were scattered over those vast countries in the North of Europe, and North West of Asia, which are now occupied by the Danes, the Swedes, the Poles, the subjects of the Russian empire, and the Tartars. Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 2—4.

Many concurring causes prepared the way for this great revolution, and ensured success to the nations which invaded the empire. The Roman commonwealth had conquered the world by the wisdom of its civil

maxims, and the rigour of its military discipline. But, under the emperors, the former were forgotten or despised, and the latter was gradually relaxed. The armies of the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries bore scarcely any resemblance to those invincible legions which had been victorious wherever they marched. Instead of freemen, who voluntarily took arms from the love of glory, or of their country, provincials and barbarians were bribed or forced into service. These were too feeble, or too proud to submit to the fatigue of military duty. They even complained of the weight of their defensive armour as intolerable, and laid it aside. Infantry, from which the armies of antient Rome derived their vigour and stability, fell into contempt; the effeminate and undisciplined soldiers of later times could hardly be brought to venture into the field but on horseback. These wretched troops, however, were the only guardians of the empire. The jealousy of despotism had deprived the people of the use of arms; and subjects, oppressed and rendered incapable of defending themselves, had neither spirit nor inclination to resist their invaders, from whom they had little to fear, because their condition could hardly be rendered more unhappy. At the same time that the martial spirit became extinct, the revenues of the empire gradually diminished. The taste for the luxuries of the East increased to such a pitch in the imperial court, that great sums were carried into India, from which, in the channel of commerce, money never returns. By the large subsidies paid to the barbarous nations, a still greater quantity of specie was withdrawn from circulation. The frontier provinces, wasted by frequent incursions, became unable to pay the customary tribute; and the wealth of the world, which had long centered in the capital of the empire, ceased to flow thither in the same abundance, or was diverted into other channels. The limits of the empire continued to be as extensive as ever, while the spirit requisite for its defence declined, and its resources were exhausted. A vast body, languid, and almost unanimated, became incapable of any effort to save itself, and was easily overpowered. The emperors, who had the absolute direction of this disordered system, sunk in the softness of eastern luxury, shut up within the walls of a palace, ignorant of war, unacquainted with affairs, and governed entirely by women and eunuchs, or by ministers equally effeminate, trembled at the approach of danger; and under circumstances which called for the utmost vigour in counsel as well as in action, discovered all the impotent irresolution of fear and of folly.

In every respect, the condition of the barbarous nations was the reverse of that of the Romans. Among the former, the martial spirit was in full vigour; their leaders were hardy and enterprising; the arts which had enervated the Romans were unknown; and such was the nature of their military institutions, that they brought forces into the field without any trouble, and supported them at little expence. The mercenary and effeminate troops stationed on the frontier, astonished at their fierceness, either fled at their approach, or were routed on the first onset. The feeble expedient to which the emperors had recourse, of taking large bodies of the barbarians into pay, and of employing them to repel new invaders, instead of retarding, hastened the destruction of the empire. These mercenaries soon turned their arms against their masters, and with greater advantage than ever; for, by serving in the Roman armies, they had acquired all the discipline or skill in war, which the Romans still retained; and, upon adding these to their native ferocity, they became altogether irresistible.

But though from these, and many other causes, the progress and conquests of the nations which over-ran the empire, became so extremely rapid, they were accompanied with horrible devastations, and an incredible destruction of the human species. Civilized nations, which take arms upon cool reflection, from motives of policy or prudence, with a view to guard against some distant danger, or to prevent some remote contingency, carry on their hostilities with so little rancour or animosity, that war among them is disarmed of half its terrors. Barbarians are strangers to such refinements. They rush into war with impetuosity, and prosecute it with violence. Their sole object is to make their enemies feel the weight of their vengeance; nor does their rage subside until it be satiated with inflicting upon them every possible calamity. It is with such a spirit that the savage tribes in America carry on their petty wars. It was with the same spirit that the more powerful and no less fierce barbarians in the North of Europe, and of Asia, fell upon the Roman empire. *Ibid. p. 7—10.*

[Note D.] *On the feudal system.*—When nations subject to despotic government make conquests, these serve only to extend the dominion and the power of their master. But armies composed of freemen, conquer for themselves, not for their leaders. The people who overthrew the Roman empire and settled in its various provinces, were of the latter class. Not only the different nations that issued from the North of Europe, which has always been considered as the seat of liberty, but the Huns and Alans, who inhabited part of those countries which have been marked out as the peculiar region of servitude, enjoyed freedom and independence in such a high degree as seems to be scarcely compatible with a state of social union, or with the subordination necessary to maintain it. They followed the chieftain who led them forth in quest of new settlements, not by constraint, but from choice; not as soldiers whom he could order to march, but as volunteers who offered to accompany him. They considered their conquests as a common property, in which all had a title to share, as all had contributed to acquire them. In what manner, or by what principles, they divided among them the lands which they seized, we cannot now determine with any certainty. There is no nation in Europe whose records reach back to this remote period; and there is little information to be got from the uninstructive and meagre chronicles, compiled by writers ignorant of the true end, and unacquainted with the proper objects of history.

This new division of property, however, together with the maxims and manners to which it gave rise, gradually introduced a species of government formerly unknown. This singular institution is now distinguished by the name of the *Feudal system*: and though the barbarous nations which framed it, settled in their new territories at different times, came from different countries, spoke various languages, and were under the command of separate leaders, the feudal policy and laws were established with little variation in every kingdom of Europe. This amazing uniformity hath induced some authors to believe that all these nations, notwithstanding so many apparent circumstances of distinction, were originally the same people. But it may be ascribed, with greater probability, to the similar state of society and manners to which they were accustomed in their native countries, and to the similar situation in which they found themselves on taking possession of their new domains.

As the conquerors of Europe had their acquisitions to maintain, not only against such of the antient inhabitants as they had spared, but against the more formidable inroads of new invaders, self-defence was their chief care, and seems to have been the chief object of their first institutions and policy. Instead of those loose associations, which, though they scarcely diminished their personal dependance, had been sufficient for their security while they remained in their original countries, they saw the necessity of uniting in more close confederacy, and of relinquishing some of their private rights in order to attain public safety. Every freeman, upon receiving a portion of the lands which were divided, bound himself to appear in arms against the enemies of the community. This military service was the condition upon which he received and held his lands; and as they were exempted from every other burden, that tenure among a warlike people was deemed both easy and honourable. The king or general, who led them to conquest, continuing still to be the head of the colony, had, of course, the largest portion allotted to him. Having thus acquired the means of rewarding past services, as well as of gaining new adherents, he parcelled out his lands with this view, binding those on whom they were bestowed, to follow his standard with a number of men in proportion to the extent of the territory which they received, and to bear arms in his defence. His chief officers imitated the example of the sovereign; and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same condition to the grant. Thus a feudal kingdom resembled a military establishment, rather than a civil institution. The victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had seized, continued ranged under its proper officers, and subordinate to military command. The names of a soldier and of a freeman were synonomous. Every proprietor of land, girt with a sword, was ready to march at the summons of his superior, and to take the field against the common enemy.

But though the feudal policy seems to be so admirably calculated for defence against the assaults of any foreign power, its provisions for the interior order and tranquillity of society was extremely defective. The principles of disorder and corruption are discernible in that constitution under its best and most perfect form. They soon unfolded themselves; and spreading with rapidity through every part of the system, produced the most fatal effects. The bond of political union was extremely feeble; the sources of anarchy were innumerable. The monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution, having no intermediate power to balance them, were perpetually at variance, and jostling with each other. The powerful vassals of the crown soon extorted a confirmation for life of those grants of land, which being at first purely gratuitous, had been bestowed only during pleasure. Not satisfied with this, they prevailed to have them converted into hereditary possessions. One step more completed their usurpations, and rendered them unalienable. With an ambition no less enterprizing and more preposterous, they appropriated to themselves titles of honour, as well as offices of power and trust. These personal marks of distinction, which the public admiration bestows on illustrious merit, or which the public confidence confers on extraordinary abilities, were annexed to certain families, and transmitted like fiefs, from father to son, by hereditary right. The crown vassals having thus secured the possession of their lands and dignities, the nature of the feudal institutions, which, though founded on subordination, verged to independence, led them to new and still more dangerous encroachments on the prerogatives of the sovereign. They obtained the power of supreme jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, within their own territories; the right of coining money; together with the privilege of carrying on war against their private enemies, in their own name, and by their own authority. The ideas of political subjection were almost entirely lost; and frequently scarce any appearance of feudal subordination remained. Nobles, who had acquired such enormous power, scorned to consider themselves as subjects. They aspired openly at being independent: the bonds which connected the principal members of the constitution with the crown, were dissolved. A kingdom, considerable in name and in extent, was broken into as many separate principalities as it contained powerful barons. A thousand causes of jealousy and discord subsisted among them, and gave rise to as many wars. Every country in Europe, wasted or kept in continual alarm during these endless contests, was filled with castles and places of strength, erected for the security of the inhabitants; not against foreign force, but against internal hostilities. An universal anarchy, destructive, in a great measure, of all the advantages which men expect to derive from society, prevailed. The people, the most numerous as well as the most useful part of the community, were either reduced to a state of actual servitude, or treated with the same insolence and rigour as if they had been degraded into that wretched condition. The king, stripped of almost every prerogative, and without authority to enact or execute salutary laws, could neither protect the innocent, nor punish the guilty. The nobles, superior to all restraint, harassed each other with perpetual wars, oppressed their fellow subjects, and humbled or insulted their sovereigns. To crown all, time gradually fixed, and rendered venerable, this pernicious system, which violence had established.

Such was the state of Europe with respect to the interior administration of government, from the seventh to the eleventh century. All the external operations of its various states, during this period, were, of course, extremely feeble. A kingdom dismembered, and torn with dissension, without any common interest to rouse, or any common head to conduct its force, was incapable of acting with vigour. Almost all the wars in Europe, during the ages which I have mentioned, were trifling, indecisive, and productive of no considerable event. They resembled the short incursions of pirates or banditti, rather than the steady operations of a regular army. Every baron, at the head of his vassals, carried on some petty enterprize, to which he was prompted by his own ambition, or revenge. The state itself, destitute of union, either remained altogether inactive, or if it attempted to make any effort, that served only to discover its impotence. The superior genius of Charlemagne, it is true, united all these disjointed and discordant members; and, forming them again into one body, restored to government that degree of activity which distinguishes his reign, and renders the transactions of it, objects not only of attention, but of admiration, to more enlightened times. But this state of union and vigour, not being natural to the feudal government, was of short duration. Immediately upon his death, the spirit which animated and sustained the vast system which he had established, being withdrawn, it broke into pieces. All the calamities which flow from anarchy and discord, returning with additional force, afflicted the different kingdoms into which his empire was split. From that time to the eleventh century, a succession of uninteresting events; a series of wars, the motives as well as the consequences of which were unimportant, fill and deform the annals of all the nations in Europe.

To these pernicious effects of the feudal anarchy, may be added its fatal influence on the character and improvement of the human mind. If men do not enjoy the protection of regular government, together with the expectation of personal security, which naturally flows from it, they never attempt to make progress in science, nor aim at attaining refinement in taste, or in manners. That period of turbulence, oppression, and rapine, which I have described, was ill suited to favour improvement in any of these. In less than a century after the barbarous nations settled in their new conquests, almost all the effects of the knowledge and civility which the Romans had spread through Europe, disappeared. Not only the arts of elegance, which minister to luxury, and are supported by it, but many of the useful arts, without which life can scarcely be considered as comfortable, were neglected or lost. Literature, science, taste, were words hardly in use during the ages which we are contemplating; or, if they occur at any time, eminence in them is ascribed to persons and productions so contemptible, that it appears their true import was little understood. Persons of the highest rank, and in the most eminent stations, could not read or write. Many of the clergy did not understand the breviary which they were obliged daily to recite; some of them could scarcely read it. The memory of past transactions was, in a great degree, lost, or preserved in annals filled with trifling events, or legendary tales. Even the codes of laws, published by the several nations which established themselves in the different countries of Europe, fell into disuse; while in their place, customs vague and capricious were substituted. The human mind, neglected, uncultivated, and depressed, continued in the most profound ignorance. Europe, during four centuries, produced few authors who merit to be read; either on account of the elegance of their composition, or the justness and novelty of their sentiments. There is hardly one invention useful or ornamental to society, of which that long period can boast.

Even the Christian religion, though its precepts are delivered, and its institutions are fixed in scripture, with a precision which should have exempted them from being misinterpreted or corrupted, degenerated, during those ages of darkness, into an illiberal superstition. The barbarous nations, when converted to Christianity, changed the object, not the spirit, of their religious worship. They endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the true God by means not unlike to those which they had employed in order to appease their false deities. Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue, which alone can render men acceptable to the great Author of order and of excellence, they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonics. Religion, according to their conception of it, comprehended nothing else; and the rites, by which they persuaded themselves that they should gain the favour of heaven, were of such a nature as might have been expected from the rude ideas of the ages which devised and introduced them. They were either so unmeaning as to be altogether unworthy of the Being to whose honour they were consecrated, or so absurd as to be a disgrace to reason and humanity. Charlemagne in France, and Alfred the Great in England, endeavoured to dispel this darkness, and gave their subjects a short glimpse of light and knowledge. But the ignorance of the age was too powerful for their efforts and institutions. The darkness returned, and settled over Europe more thick and heavy than before.

As the inhabitants of Europe, during these centuries, were strangers to the arts which embellished a polished age, they were destitute of the virtues which abound among people who continue in a simple state. Force of mind, a sense of personal dignity, gallantry in enterprize, invincible perseverance in execution, contempt of danger and of death, are the characteristic virtues of uncivilized nations. But these are all the offspring of equality and independence, both of which the feudal institutions had destroyed. The spirit of domination corrupted the nobles; the yoke of servitude depressed the people; the generous sentiments inspired by a sense of equality were extinguished; and nothing remained to be a check on ferocity and violence. Human society is in its most corrupted state at that period when men have lost their original independence and simplicity of manners, but have not attained that degree of refinement which introduces a sense of decorum and of propriety in conduct, as a restraint on those passions which lead to heinous crimes.

Accordingly, a greater number of those atrocious actions, which fill the mind of man with astonishment and horror, occur in the history of the centuries under review, than in that of any period of the same extent in the annals of Europe. If we open the history of Gregory of Tours, or of any contemporary author, we meet with a series of deeds of cruelty, perfidy, and revenge, so wild and enormous, as almost to exceed belief. Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 14—24.

Philosophy of History.

LECTURE V.

Religion: its important relation to the present Inquiries.—Polytheism: its general Principles widely diffused: its Origin, Progress, and Effects.—Survey of the different Monotheistic Systems; the Patriarchal, Deistic, Magian, Jewish, Christian, and Moslem; the Causes which have contributed to their Prosperity or Decline; and the Effects they have produced on Society.

THE fourth class of causes, to which it is proposed to refer, comprehends the various erroneous systems of religion which have been propagated in the world, and likewise that which was founded on divine authority.

In our first lecture, the entire mass of organized nature was presented to our view, as acted upon by physical causes, and subject to certain laws, which tend to form and to perpetuate all the varieties of the human species. Man was then contemplated as the subject of influences, powerful in their operation; yet of which he is himself unconscious; and which he is incapable of resisting. In the second lecture, he is an imitative animal; and is observed in many instances to take for his model the different species of inferior animals with which he is most conversant. In the third and fourth, he too much resembles the savage beast, by employing all his energies in scattering desolation around him; and differs chiefly from the tiger or the hyæna, in the tremendous efficacy of the weapons of destruction he employs, and the more disastrous and extensive effects of his murderous designs. But in the present lecture, he occupies a ground peculiarly his own; for of all the animals with which we are acquainted, man alone can possess any knowledge of his Creator.

Whoever contemplates but for a moment the vast variety of religious opinions which have been propagated in the world, must be convinced that some of them at least have been indebted for their success to causes very different from the love of truth, or the force of evidence. It is desirable, therefore, to search for some principles which induce the mind to embrace some system of religion, even without regard to the question of its truth or falsehood. For such principles, it is conceived, on a minute enquiry, will be found not only to exist, but also to exert a powerful influence.

1. There is in the human mind a consciousness of ignorance. Every man's desire of information, especially concerning what relates to himself, extends far beyond the knowledge which he is actually capable of procuring. Hence arises the disposition to seek instruction from a superior power, not only by such methods as might be deemed rational, but by oracles, by the arts of soothsaying, or by various forms of magical incantation.
2. A consciousness of weakness. Man, in every stage of society, cannot fail to arrive at a conviction, that many things closely connected with his comfort are far from being subject to his controul; and this remark applies not only to the earthquake or the hurricane, but to the more ordinary events of common life. From this conscious infirmity has arisen the desire to arm himself with super-human strength, and to invoke the aid of a superior Being; to engage such a powerful agent on his side; for which purpose he has had recourse not only to prayers, vows, and sacrifices, but also to an almost endless variety of magical and superstitious rites.
3. It is peculiar to human nature to possess desires beyond those which the present state of existence can gratify, and stretching forward towards immortality. Let man be surrounded by every thing which can contribute to his present gratification, he cannot, in a moment of reflection, feel himself satisfied, unless he believe that his destiny in a future life will be attended with increasing enjoyment. Hence, in every country, he is inclined rather to embrace the most absurd hypotheses concerning futurity, than to sit down contented in a state of cold and cheerless scepticism.
4. Whoever contemplates, with a serious and intelligent mind, the condition of the moral world, will perceive that vice is, in many instances, triumphant; and virtue, oppressed and scorned, as if it had no protector. Who that seriously

reflects on this state of things, is not constrained to look forward to another world, and expect some day of retribution, which shall vindicate the ways of God to man, give deliverance to the sufferer, and prove that they who, in the path of duty, have denied themselves and undergone the greatest hardships, did in fact make the best and wisest choice—that they have obtained those true riches which will retain their value when the tinsel of guilty greatness shall be found to be less than nothing and vanity? Each of these four causes, it is conceived, have operated in the minds of men to induce them to embrace religious systems, without much regard to their consistency or their evidence.

All religious systems may be divided into two classes, *Polytheism*, which inculcates the belief and worship of many gods; and *Monotheism*, which acknowledges but one God. Beginning with Polytheism, it becomes desirable to compare the different systems belonging to this numerous class together, in order that we may determine, how far they are radically distinct, or whether we have any reason to believe that they are chiefly derived from one common source.

1. We commence this survey with the religion of antient Greece, since the mythology of the Greeks is more familiar than any other to the imagination and memory. According to this system, the greatest of all the gods, Zeus or Jupiter, has particularly the government of thunder, and sways the sceptre of supreme authority, both in heaven and on earth. Though superior to any other of the gods, he is contented to hold a divided empire with his two brethren; Neptune, to whom was supposed to be confided the command of the ocean; and Pluto, who presided over the regions of the dead, and in the world of spirits, and decided on the future destinies of men. To each of these superior deities belonged their respective courts; so that even Jupiter himself was surrounded by a small number of powerful gods and goddesses, who had their separate systems of policy, and not unfrequently counteracted his wishes, disobeyed his mandates, and secretly undermined his authority; crimes, which, when discovered, he did not fail to restrain or punish. There were also numerous inferior deities, inhabiting and presiding over rivers, mountains, and forests, or directing the diseases and accidents of human life. The gods of Greece were estimated by Herodotus at no less than 30,000; but it should seem that almost any other number might have been named with equal accuracy, for they were multiplied indefinitely, according to the caprice and superstition of the worshippers.

2. The religion of antient Rome was avowedly a transcript of that of Greece, with the addition of a few Italian deities, and the introduction of a number of rites borrowed from the Etrurians.

3. As the mythology of antient Rome was unquestionably the *daughter* of that of Greece, so that of antient Egypt is universally acknowledged to have been its *parent*. These assertions are, however, repeated rather on the authority of the antients, (who were much more capable of judging correctly on the subject than we are,) than from any analogies we are able to trace. The resemblance indeed between the antient religious systems of Egypt and Greece, is like that which the block of marble, just raised from its native quarry, bears to a statue which has received all the beauty and finish which art can confer. The antient Egyptians had three principal divinities; Osiris, a benevolent god; Isis, a benevolent goddess, who was his sister and queen; and Typhon, their brother, a malevolent and revengeful deity. Osiris and Isis are said to have been king and queen of Egypt; and the former, having governed his country with the utmost wisdom and justice, proceeded on an expedition to civilize surrounding nations. On his return, he was murdered by his brother Typhon, his body was torn in pieces, and its members scattered about: but Isis laboured with the utmost diligence to collect those members and deposit them in a place of safety.

4. The Phenicians had a great goddess, called Astarte, who is described as the same with the Egyptian Isis; and the resemblance is confirmed by their relating concerning them the tale of the murdered body of Osiris, but disguised under other names.

5. A great goddess was worshipped as Venus, or Astaroth, in Syria; Cybele, in Phrygia; and Diana, at Ephesus; who combined the attributes of different deities, and bore evident marks of resemblance to Isis the great goddess of the Egyptians.

6. At Babylon was the temple of Belus, which was divided into two apartments, the upper and the lower. In the former was worshipped an invisible God, by whom it was believed to be visited, but whose form none attempted to describe. In the latter, was the golden image of Belus, supposed to be a visible and yet powerful deity. The Babylonians also worshipped a goddess, called Mylitta, or Venus, who evidently appears, from the rites with

which she was adored, to have been the same with the Venus of the Asiatic Greeks.

7. Many points of resemblance may be traced between the religion of Bramha and that of the ancient Egyptians. Each nation worshipped three principal divinities, whose character corresponded in many particulars. Their names have even been found to resemble each other; both concur in superstitious veneration for the cow; in regarding casts as sacred; in a reverence for the several orders of the priesthood; in maintaining the doctrine of transmigration, and in various other circumstances.

8. The religion of Fo, Budha, or Shaha, which prevails in Ceylon, the farther India, China, and central Asia, is evidently connected with the Bramhan; as Fo is supposed to have been one of the incarnations of Bramha.

9. In antient Britain, Gaul, and other Druidical countries, we find Taranus, the god of thunder, like the Grecian Jupiter, a principal object of veneration.

10. In Germany and the northern parts of Europe, the same divinity was worshipped under the name of Thor; but from the warlike character of our ancestors, he was regarded as inferior to Odin, the god of war.

11. A similar superstition prevailed in Lapland, till the natives were induced, by the Lutheran missionaries, to embrace the Christian religion.

12. At Whidah, on the coast of Africa, a beautiful serpent is the principal object of religious veneration; and it is well known, that the Greeks, in the same shape, worshipped Esculapius.

Enough has already been stated to shew that between all these systems, which include the principal modes of superstition in antient and modern times, there are so many points of resemblance, as render it probable, that most, if not all of them, were derived from one common source.

A striking coincidence of ideas will further appear, from comparing some of the principal *cosmogonies*, or antient opinions, relative to the creation of the world. 1. Moses gives us, in the first chapter of Genesis, a history of the origin of the universe. After stating distinctly the most important fact, that it

is from God alone the heavens and the earth derived their existence, he proceeds to inform us, that, in the beginning, "the earth was without form and void; that there was darkness on the face of the deep; and that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." If the literal meaning of these words be examined, it will appear that the same word that is translated Spirit, signifies in the Hebrew, *wind*, or *air*; and that the phrase *Spirit of God*, might also be rendered "a mighty wind." The word too which is with us translated *moved*, has particular reference to the operations of a bird, that broods in its nest and turns over its eggs, during the period of incubation. We also find the remainder of the work of creation represented as progressive, one part of the universe being formed out of another, by successive gradations.

According to the cosmogony of Sanchoniathon, the first principles of the universe were a spirit of dark air, and a turbid chaos; both of which had, for many ages, been infinite. But when the Spirit was affected with love towards its own principles, a mixture followed, which was called desire. This union of the chaos begat a watery chaos, from which all creatures were derived. First there were animals without sense; then the Zophosemin, or beholders of heaven, who were formed in the shape of an egg, and the sun, moon, and stars, shone forth. By these, the air being heated, produced clouds and torrents of rain; and when these were separated, they met in the air, and produced thunders and lightnings. The thunder awoke and terrified the Zophosemin, and male and female moved in the earth and sea.

Hesiod tells us, that, in the beginning, there existed widely-extended space, and love, the fairest of the immortal gods; and the chaos produced Erebus and night; and these produced Ether and day. After this, he gives an account of the separation of the heavens and the earth, the elevation of mountains and depression of valleys and caves, and the production of the sea from the heavens and earth.

Aristophanes says, first were chaos, black Erebus, and wide Tartarus; but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with sable wings, laid the first egg of wind in the vast bosom of Erebus, from whence, in process of time, issued amiable love, shining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirlwinds; love uniting with chaos, produced heaven and earth, gods, men and animals.

In each of these cosmogonies, strange and even absurd as they may appear, it is very easy to trace a resemblance to the Mosaic account of the creation; but

in each of them there is also manifest a strong disposition to allegorize, or give a figurative representation of things. Celestial love, for instance, is introduced as an agent highly important in the work of creation. For every one had seen that certain elements, when mingled together, excite a pleasing confusion, a kind of natural war; and it was therefore concluded, that when all were mingled in chaos, they must have been in a state of perpetual contention. As love, therefore, is incompatible with discord, celestial love is introduced, as the great agent in reducing the creation to order and beauty. This figurative mode of description answered various useful purposes to the priests and poets of antiquity. It enabled them to gratify the imaginations of their hearers, to avoid a public disclosure of their tenets and mysteries; and gave them an opportunity of flattering those great families whose favour they wished to conciliate.

The progress of Polytheism was probably in the following order. 1. Certain agents in the work of creation were considered and honoured as gods. 2. As every well regulated empire is divided into provinces, and governed by officers of different ranks; a similar subdivision was supposed to have taken place in the administration of human affairs among the gods and demigods of different countries. 3. As the celestial bodies are elevated, bright, and apparently imperishable, they were esteemed the most proper residences for such exalted beings. 4. Rivers were honoured for their fertilizing qualities—mountains for their grandeur and durability—trees for their sublimity, beauty, and utility. 5. Animals were worshipped for three reasons. 1. On account of their qualities, good or evil: thus religious honours were paid to the cow and the ibis, for their good qualities; and to the crocodile probably with the hope of averting its pernicious effects. 2. On account of their place in hieroglyphical writings, where the whole or part of the outline of an animal was employed to denote some valuable quality of antient wisdom. 3. From a fable that in the war with the giants, the gods were obliged to seek their safety by taking refuge in the bodies of different animals. 6. Heroes were worshipped from several considerations, partly on account of the fondness with which we cherish the memory of the respected dead, and partly from the very natural supposition that they were possessed of much influence and power in the unseen world, and were therefore both able and willing to afford the utmost protection to their former subjects, to which must be added the desire of paying court to the great by conferring divine honour on their remote ancestors. [Note A.]

The worship of the gods had its connection with a variety of different ceremonies and usages ; among the most important and generally received of which was, the offering of *sacrifices*. These oblations, in most if not all countries, were regulated by certain fixed principles, one animal being thought more acceptable than another to particular deities. There is reason to believe, that in most countries the practice of human sacrifices has been more or less prevalent. The Druids are said to have maintained, that nothing but the life of man was sufficiently valuable to make an atonement for human transgressions ; and a notion has certainly prevailed throughout the whole of the heathen world, that nothing is more acceptable to the gods than to offer in circumstances of extremity, a human victim as a propitiatory sacrifice. 2. This naturally led to the erection of altars, on which the victims were to be immolated. These were at first mere mounds of earth, or shapeless masses of stone ; but at length they were shaped with elegance, and decorated with artificial beauties. 3. The altars of the antients appear, in the first instance, to have been built in the open air, with no other protection than the veneration in which they were held by all classes of society. They were next surrounded, as among the Druids, by circles of stone, which seemed to mark the distinction between sacred and common ground. At length followed the regular temple, in which, as society advanced, appeared every thing which could be supposed to add beauty or sublimity. 4. At a still later period, there were introduced into these temples, statues or images of the gods. These were at first shapeless masses of wood or stone, venerated for their fabulous origin. At length the sculptor gave them some rude resemblance to the human head, and to the principal features of the face ; the hands or feet were afterwards formed ; and in a more advanced state, the rest of the human body ; till at length art redoubled its efforts, and determined to exhibit in the statues of the gods and goddesses, specimens of the most perfect symmetry and beauty, which rivalled even the fairest works of nature. [Note B.]

Polytheism was favourable to the fine arts, on account of the wide range it afforded to the imagination of the poet, the sculptor, and the painter ; but it obstructed the progress of science, by introducing superstitious modes of accounting for natural phenomena, and thus preventing the mind from putting forth its powers in the investigation and discovery of the physical causes of natural events. Nor was it less prejudicial to morals, from its tendency to induce different nations to regard themselves as radically distinct, the crea-

tures of different gods, and the production of different soils; as well as from its representation of their gods and goddesses as perpetrating crimes still more enormous than those which are commonly practised among men.

II. We proceed now to contemplate Monotheism, such as inculcate the belief and worship of one God. In our first lecture we expressed a conviction that the writings of Moses were possessed of high authority, considered merely as an antient document; to those writings, therefore, we may with propriety look in endeavouring to trace the early history of religion. The earliest mode or dispensation of religion mentioned in scripture, is that of the patriarchs, thence denominated the patriarchal. We have received but few fragments concerning this period of the history of religion, and these are contained chiefly in the books of Genesis and Job. From these we learn, that the patriarchs were instructed in the belief and worship of one God, the maker of heaven and earth; that they were taught to worship him by select sacrifices offered up in the spirit of faith; and that they were required so to act towards the most High God, and towards their fellow-creatures, as would consist with the character of his holiness. These particulars, it is probable, are but a few fragments of a much larger system of faith and morals revealed to the patriarchs; the greater part of which has either been lost in the lapse of ages; or preserved and transmitted to futurity by other religions. The vestiges of the patriarchal system were to be discovered in several heathen countries. In this lecture, we have mentioned the invisible Belus of the Babylonians, which probably was no other than a misrepresentation of the supreme Deity. Among the Egyptians was a divinity named Cneph, who was regarded as too sacred to be a proper object of painting or sculpture; and, among the same people, we find a veiled Isis, an emblem of nature, bearing the inscription, "I am, and was, and am to come, and my veil has no one lifted up." The most antient Greeks, Herodotus assures us, had no names for their gods, a concession which nearly amounts to an acknowledgment that they were not Polytheists; for had that been the character of their religion, some of their divinities must have been distinguished, both by their names and by their attributes. Lastly, among the great goddesses of different Asiatic cities, which have been already enumerated, and the gods of India, we find the same image decorated with a variety of different symbols, which we conceive intended to indicate, that, however the deities might be divided in popular representation, they were really different perfections concentrated in the same being. Where these representations have to do with a female figure, they are probably a personification of

or deification of nature ; where they surround a male figure, we conceive them to have been symbolical of the eternal God.

There have been three other systems of Monotheism of very high antiquity, the *Magian*, the *Deistical*, and the *Jewish*; of each of which a brief summary will be presented.

1. The Magian religion is of unknown antiquity, and appears to have been for many ages confined within the limits of antient Persia. What changes it underwent during that period of its history, is a question now covered with impenetrable obscurity. But it is universally admitted, that it received its present form under the pretended prophet Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, who is placed by Dr. Prideaux, as contemporary with Darius the son of Hystaspes. According to that teacher, there is one supreme God, the author of light, life, and excellence ; the possessor of every perfection. This great being once said to himself, "Wherein shall my power appear, if there is no one to resist my will ?" and this reflection called into existence Arimanus, the antient malignant principle, or power of evil. All things now are divided between these two powers, the one presiding over all the guilt and misery, the other over all the virtue and happiness that are to be found in the world. The present state of things is mixed, and good and evil seem intimately blended ; but the day of resurrection and final judgment is coming, when those who have lived righteously shall be for ever happy with the Author of light ; and those who have lived wickedly will be for ever miserable with the angel of darkness. Light is regarded as the fittest for the one, and darkness for the other, of these powers ; and as the sun is the noblest of all lights, so the worshippers of God turn their faces toward him as the fittest symbol of the being whom they adore. In the temples sacred fires were perpetually preserved, fed with the purest materials, as being the noblest emblematical representations which the mind of man could invent. Such was the system which prevailed there formerly with but little opposition, till another form of religion was introduced into Persia, when many of the aborigines, or Persees, worshippers of fire, abandoned their native country. Such was the state of religion, till A. D. 631, when that antient empire was subdued by the Arabians, and Mahometanism became the established religion of the country. From this time the Magians have been confined to the more desart parts of Persia, or induced to seek for shelter in the North of India, under the protection of European powers. Wherever they reside, they are said to be distinguished by a harmless life and peaceful habits. They are

also remarkable for their custom of exposing their dead to the elements, instead of depositing them in the earth. [Note C.]

II. Deism was the antient religion of China, Tartary, and generally of eastern Asia. It inculcates the belief and worship of one God, without pretending to any clear and authorised revelation of his will. This eastern system has had two principal advocates and supporters, Confutsee, or Confucius, the celebrated Chinese philosopher, who lived about 600 years before the Christian era ; and Jenghiz Khan, the great Tartar conqueror, whose splendid victories were described in a former lecture. Confucius procured great honour both to himself and his religious system, by his excellent moral treatises ; some of which are still preserved, and have been recently translated into our own language. Yet it is remarkable, that this mode of religious profession has declined in every direction, many of its votaries having embraced the religion of Mahomet, and many others the yet more absurd system of Budha or Fo. Even the Chinese literati, who profess to adhere to the religion of Confucius, conform to the vulgar in the observance of external ceremonies, that they may not incur their resentments. If it be asked, "why men who are under the influence of no external force should forsake Deism, for a less rational system of belief and practice," the answer is obvious, Deism furnishes no support or consolation, or certainty to the mind, in the prospect of eternity ; and it is more painful to continue in a state of suspense than it is difficult to embrace the most absurd hypothesis which assumes to be a revelation from God.

III. The Jewish religion is that which was given of old by Moses, whose writings are in the hands of every reader, and therefore of which it is unnecessary to attempt a compendium ; yet there is room for several remarks.

1. It is generally admitted, that the Jewish religion contains many particulars in common with the antient Egyptians ; but this need not excite any alarm, since these, like all the religious systems of antiquity, were unquestionably derived from the same source, that is, the patriarchal. 2. The Jews were distinguished as the witnesses of the divine Unity. Hence they are naturally censured as cruel, by those who do not believe in the divine mission of Moses. 3. It has been very generally supposed that their dispersion took place at once, and was therefore a peculiar mark of the displeasure of heaven. A little attention, however, to the order of facts, will disprove such an opinion. During all the

earlier and better part of their history, they uniformly resided in their native land ; from the different and most distant parts of which, the pious males went up three times a year to Jerusalem, to worship the God of their fathers. In cases, however, of famine and other circumstances of extreme exigency, they removed occasionally to the neighbouring countries, resolving to return as soon as the calamity was over. At length, on account of their sins, the ten tribes were carried captive by the Assyrians into different parts of Media, and other countries beyond the Euphrates. This was the commencement of their dispersion ; the next step towards it was, the Babylonian captivity ; from which many of the wealthier Jews, who had established themselves in the countries to which they had been carried captive, had no wish to return. Under the Persian empire, we find them to have been numerous at Susa, the capital. They were much favoured by the Ptolemys, and this occasioned multitudes of them to settle in Egypt. At length, about 200 years before Christ, Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, became a great protector of the Jews, and especially stationed them in garrison, in those parts of his dominions whose loyalty he most suspected ; under the persuasion, that the difference of their religious habits would prevent them from forming any coalition with his rebellious subjects. On the establishment of the Roman empire, the Jews followed the tide of commerce, and dispersed themselves over the West. The calamities of the first and second centuries, probably induced many to abandon their native country ; and in subsequent ages, actuated by commercial motives, and following the train of political events, they have become gradually dispersed over almost every country under heaven. 4. Modern Judaism differs in several respects from the antient. The greater part of the Jews profess to be rabbinites, and to hold the traditions of their fathers. These maintain, that, at mount Sinai, God revealed to Moses not only those commandments which are recorded in the Pentateuch, but another code also, which he did not commit to writing. These were repeated according to a peculiar method, until Moses, Aaron, the sons of Aaron, and the elders of Israel, had all heard them repeated four times ; by which time, it is supposed, they were sufficiently impressed upon their memories. This additional code was, as they affirm, handed down to posterity with the utmost care and fidelity. At length, however, near the time of our Saviour's appearing, it was found desirable to commit them to writing, under the name of the Talmud ; and afterwards, the Gemarrah, or comment, was added, professedly derived from the same source. 5. Some modern Jews are of a more philosophical cast, dispute the divine mission of Moses, and speculate with great freedom on his writings.

IV. The CHRISTIAN RELIGION demands our strictest attention, as one of the most powerful causes which have operated on the human mind. To attempt to define this religious system would be inconsistent with the design of the present lecture. Suffice it to say, that it is the religion of the New Testament; and those who wish to understand its doctrines or its duties, will do well, for the purpose of ascertaining the inestimable value of this book, to study it with devout attention. Its peculiar spirit manifests itself principally in two particulars; it inculcates the doctrine that no external homage is so acceptable to the Divine Being, as purity of heart; and it enjoins the duty of universally exercising unbounded benevolence to our fellow-creatures; whatever may be their nation, complexion or features; and also to forgive whatever injuries we may have received at their hands.

The history of the Christian religion may very properly be divided into four eras: the first commences with the ascension of Christ, and extends to A. D. 311, when Christianity began to be established by Constantine. This is very generally admitted to have been a period of the greatest external sufferings, but of the greatest internal purity; and has been frequently appealed to by protestants, in the different controversies in which they have been engaged. The second era extends from A. D. 311 to 756, when the pope became a temporal prince, and arrogated to himself the right of ecclesiastical supremacy. It is marked by fictitious miracles, and the most disgusting attempts to elevate the ecclesiastical power to a height, that is alike subversive of the liberties of the people, and the stability of the throne. The third era includes the undivided reign of popery from A. D. 756 to 1517. During some parts of this period, the greatest moral and intellectual darkness overwhelmed large portions of the Christian world; yet at intervals eminent men arose; nor was there an entire deficiency of those who were willing to sacrifice their lives in attempting to oppose the errors of the times. The fourth era extends from 1517 to the present time, and is that on which protestants reflect with peculiar pleasure. In gratitude to divine Providence for the preservation of the protestant religion during the space of 300 years, the third centenary of the reformation has lately been celebrated, in our own country and on the continent.

In contemplating the history of the Christian religion, one of the first questions which arises is, "to what cause is its rapid progress among the nations to be attributed?" It is on all sides admitted, that its beginnings were humble;

that its first advocates were destitute of wealth and civil power; and that they received martyrdom, as the reward of their labours. They levied no forces; they founded no seminaries; they paid no peculiar court to the great; they were hated by the Jews; and are mentioned with the utmost contempt by Roman authors, until the Christians finally erected the banners of the cross on the ruins of the capitol. To solve this difficulty, we might recur to miracles and the fulfilment of prophecy, but they are excluded by the nature of these lectures, which are not theological. We shall, therefore, rather enumerate among the causes of this mighty revolution, the advantages which a revelation like the Christian possesses over such baseless systems as the Grecian or Roman mythologies; the peculiar spirit of the Christian religion, which seems to carry with it the sanction of heaven; and the decided character of its early possessors. "I am a Christian, and am therefore ready to die," was the frequent, and, we should often think, unnecessary answer, tendered to the enquiries of the heathen magistrate; and instances have been known of individuals, who have sold themselves into foreign slavery, that they might enjoy more abundant opportunities to propagate a religion, which they valued far above their liberties or their lives.

Another interesting subject of enquiry respects the darkness of the middle ages. How could it happen, that men, possessed not only of common understanding, and of the scriptures, but also of apostolical example, handed down to them through but a few generations, should believe and practise all the absurdities which disgrace the history of the middle ages? Without attempting minutely to investigate this subject, or to solve all its difficulties; the following answers may suffice.

1. The teachers of the Christian religion felt their situation somewhat degraded, when compared with that of other instructors. Others were called philosophers, the authors or the improvers of particular systems; whereas, the Christian teacher had only to repeat the plain unvarnished tale, which he had learned from the New Testament. He therefore determined to give the doctrines which he professed, the name of divine philosophy; and of course gave the world an obscure intimation, that there was something in the Christian religion yet to be discovered by the aid of reason and philosophy. This prepared the way for an allegorical method of interpreting scripture, in which a prodigious fund of ingenuity was employed to darken what would not otherwise have

been obscure ; hence arose monastic retirement, for the purpose of securing time for such unnecessary labour ; and which ultimately prepared the way for that absurd *school divinity*, of which we must speak in the next lecture.

2. The sudden prosperity of the Christian clergy, who passed at once from a state of persecution to the possession of dignity and power, was an event, that could scarcely fail to produce powerful effects on their disposition and conduct. To this we must add, that having suddenly acquired the influence that enabled them in their turn to persecute others, it was natural that they should imitate the example of their enemies, and employ their limited authority for the annoyance of heathens and heretics.

3. The barbarous nations who embraced the Christian religion, consisted chiefly of rude warriors, who could not read, nor were disposed to learn. They had been accustomed to regard every kind of learning as the peculiar property of their *scaldi* or bards ; and they wished it in the same way to remain with the Christian priesthood. When, therefore, portions of the scriptures were translated into their languages, there is reason to suppose, they found among them but few persons who were able and willing to peruse them. The priesthood, perceiving that the scriptures remained in their undivided possession, they would have been more than men, had they not endeavoured to extract their own personal benefit from such a surrender of their understanding to others, their superiors in learning.

4. The natural veneration for departed friends, hallowed spots, and other interesting objects, was another fruitful source of superstitious observances. The martyrs and other illustrious Christians were first venerated, and then worshipped ; first regarded as deserving a most honourable remembrance ; and then became objects of adoration and trust, as persons capable of mediating with the Saviour. The sacred scenes of Palestine, and the mouldering ruins of Jerusalem, naturally tended to excite a pious curiosity ; till at length journeys to visit them were considered as constituting one of the most important duties of religion. Hence arose the crusades, pilgrimages, and many other customs of that superstitious age. From similar feelings, the wood of the cross, the nails, and every other instrument which the New Testament could render an object of veneration, were multiplied ; and fragments of human bodies were produced in abundance, and sold at an immense price as the genuine relics of certain apostles, martyrs, or other celebrated Christians.

5. It has sometimes occurred, that men have called themselves Christians, and have even felt some degree of veneration for the truths which Christians regard as sacred ; while they have been the slaves of their passions and habitual workers of iniquity. Such especially were many of the converts of the middle ages, whose consciences were burdened by many sins, which they were desirous that the priesthood should remit ; and engaged in many contests which gave ample scope for ecclesiastical interference. So loose and unprincipled were the morals of the hierarchy in the middle ages, that *they* had ever the best cause, who were the most liberal friends to the clergy ; or who paid the most implicit homage to the court of Rome.

About the sixth century, the Christian church was divided into four principal parties. 1. The Romans, or Latins, who occupied all the western provinces, acknowledged the pope as their head, and have since been better known by the name of Roman catholics. 2. The Greeks, who chiefly occupied the eastern empire, and who differed from the former in the time of observing Easter, in preferring paintings to images, and especially in acknowledging the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople, rather than that of the bishop of Rome. This is at present the predominant religion in the Russian empire ; and its votaries are numerous in Poland, the Danubian provinces, and the Turkish empire. 3. The Nestorians. These maintained equally with the other divisions of the Christian church, that Jesus of Nazareth was both divine and human ; but they contended that, in Christ, divinity and humanity were so distinct, as to form two persons. They spread themselves through Syria and Chaldea, and were at one time celebrated for their endeavours to convert some of the Tartar tribes. It is also believed that the Syrian Christians in India, (who have excited so much attention, in consequence of the researches of the late Dr. Claudio Buchanan,) belong to this class. 4. The Monophysites believed, that the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ are so blended, as to become one nature. These appear to have been the most numerous in Africa. The Egyptian and Abyssinian Christians are said to have embraced these tenets.

A more important schism was, however, effected by Mahomed, to whose political history we have referred in a former lecture. His religion is contained in the Koran, which is pretended to have been communicated to the prophet in fragments, at different times, by the angel Gabriel. It consists not of books, like the Bible ; but of chapters arranged neither according to the order of the pretended revelations, nor of the subjects of which they treat : but simply ac-

cording to their length, the longest being put first in order, and the shortest last. They do not contain, like the Christian scriptures, a variety of style and information, history, poetry, prophecy, and doctrine ; but, on the contrary, they are filled with vehement declamations concerning the unity of God, with denunciations of divine vengeance against all such as reject the mission of Mahomed ; with rules for the regulation of his followers, illustrated by a number of idle tales derived from rabbinical or oriental fables. A remarkable tendency is apparent throughout that celebrated book, to relate the most extravagant fictions, as if they were derived from authentic history ; and to cover authentic history with the veil of allegory. It contains a few sublime sentences concerning the perfections of God ; but these are incessantly repeated in words slightly differing from each other, and are all greatly inferior to many passages of scripture. How far, for example, do they fall short of that most beautiful and highly poetical representation of the origin of earthquakes and volcanoes in the book of the Psalms. "*He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth ; he toucheth the hills, and they smoke.*" The principal doctrines of Mahomedanism are the following. "There is one God, the creator of heaven and earth, without son, and unbegotten, whom it is unlawful by any painting or sculpture to attempt to resemble. So cautiously ought this sin to be avoided, that it is better not to trace the resemblance of any animal. There have been sent by this God, many prophets, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and Mahomed ; but of all these Mahomed is the greatest, and the only prophet under whose mission we now live ; and Jesus Christ is next to him in dignity. All events are fixed by an irrevocable decree ; every one dies at the stroke of the angel of death ; and it is of no importance with reference to that event, whether he expire amidst the din of arms, or fancy himself safe in the bosom of his family. There shall be a resurrection, and a future judgment ; when the true Mahomedans shall ascend to Paradise, where they shall enjoy an abundance both of spiritual, and temporal delights ; while all other classes of people will be disposed of in different places of punishment, according to the degrees of their offences." Believing these principles, every true disciple of Mahomed must pray five times in the day with a certain number of genuflections and prostrations, after having washed himself with water ; or, if in the desert, rubbed himself over with sand. The abstinence of Mahomedanism may be justly compared to that of Judaism ; except that the disciple of Mahomed is also prohibited the use of wine. The worst part, practically speaking, of the religion of Mahomed, is that which allows its votaries to propagate it by the sword ; the best, that which commands them to protect the oppressed, to relieve the fatherless, the widow, and the stranger.

Such are the general outlines of the system in which all Mahomedans, (with but a few exceptions at least,) may be considered as agreeing; a system well suited to the romantic spirit of Arabian adventurers; and, as was observed in the last lecture, particularly adapted to the condition of a nation composed of wandering robbers, anxious to acquire power, wealth, and possessions; yet unable to accomplish their desires for want of union and discipline. Soon after the death of Mahomed, his disciples divided into two parties; the disciples of Omar, and those of Ali. The dispute concerned chiefly the right of succession to the caliphate of Arabia; but during so many ages of discord, they have reciprocally embraced and rejected later traditions, while they all agree in acknowledging the supreme authority of the Koran. Almost all the Mahomedans of Arabia and Turkey, belong to the sect of Omar; while their rivals in Persia and India, follow Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. [Note D.]

Our attention is now claimed to the Christian reformation of 1517; an event brought about by three classes of men, actuated by widely different motives. The first were really *pious men*, who thought much of God and another world; and whose attention was powerfully excited by the scriptures, and the writings of the reformers. A second class, were *literary men*, who were gratified with the rapid progress then making in every species of knowledge, and despised the ignorant superstition, and the knavery of the monks. The third class were *political men*, who were anxious to deprive the church, as then constituted, of a portion of her riches, honours, and authority; and either to appropriate them to their own benefit; or employ them in the service of the state. [Note E.]

The effects of the reformation have been very extensive on the arts and sciences, on politics and morals, and on the general interests of the Christian religion. Its influence on the fine arts, has perhaps been upon the whole unfavourable, especially on painting and sculpture, some branches of which have been supposed to flourish most under a splendid national establishment. Science, under the influence of the protestant religion, has greatly enlarged her boundaries: the reformation, by claiming the right, and introducing the habit of freedom of thought, has been undoubtedly favourable to the discovery of every species of truth. In politics, its principle of moral examination, and the supremacy of the holy Scriptures, have a natural tendency to lead to the investigation of the character and actions of rulers, and thus to produce the happiest effects on their conduct. In morals, protestant nations are decidedly superior; some Roman catholic countries may indeed be constitutionally sober, and others may

abstain from habits of dissipation, from motives of frugality or self-mortification, but the practice of private murder, the frequent, and, in a great measure, the allowed violations of the sanctity of marriage, and the flagrant profanation of the Christian sabbath, are badges which distinguish Roman catholic from protestant lands. The general interests of Christianity have likewise been promoted by the spirit of competition between protestants and Roman catholics, which may be traced as far back as the reformation itself. This prompted the Roman catholics, having lost so much ground in Europe, to endeavour to make up the deficiency by missions to Asia, Africa, and America. Protestants have slowly imitated their conduct; but at present thousands are rousing every energy in the service of what they conceive to be the greatest and best cause upon earth. On a comparison of the character and history of Roman catholic and protestant missions, we may discover two important points of difference. 1. The Roman catholic missionary keeps his convert in a depressed state, imparting to him no more of the scriptures than may suit his convenience or interest: on the contrary, the protestant missionary is anxious that his followers should understand as much of the gospel as himself; and therefore loses no time in translating into their language, *all* the oracles of God. 2. Roman catholic missions have usually been attended, in the first instance, with surprising success; but afterwards have aroused the jealousy of native states, and excited an opposition which terminated in their destruction: protestant missions, on the contrary, have advanced more slowly; but the instances are very rare of their having been ultimately eradicated. Of Roman catholic missions, none have taken so much pains for the civilization of the heathen, as the Jesuits; and a similar honour has been among protestants generally awarded to the *Moravians*, or society of *United Brethren*.

Whoever shall dispassionately survey the different religious systems, which we have had occasion to review in this lecture, will, it is conceived, most readily join in the assertion, that Christianity, even in its most degraded state, is far superior to every other religion that has been propagated among men, whether in antient or modern times; and that in its present form, it is productive of the happiest effects both on the temporal and eternal interests of mankind.

Notes

TO THE FIFTH LECTURE.

[Note A.] *ON the origin of idolatry.*—The history of all ages and nations conspires to prove, that the conviction has been universal, of the existence of one or more superior beings to whom religious homage and adoration are due; and the enquiry is not less curious than interesting, to what source this universal impression may be traced. Lord Kaines, in his "Sketches of the History of Man," ascribes it to an internal sense, which may be termed the *sense of Deity*, of which every individual of the human race, whether barbarous or civilized in his modes of life, must be conscious. Others, conceiving that insuperable objections attach to this hypothesis, have contended that all the knowledge, which has descended from age to age, of the existence of the Deity, must have been originally derived from revelation. Apart from the evidence contained in Scripture on the subject, nothing can be more consonant to the dictates of reason and common sense, than that the supreme Creator would reveal himself to those beings whom he endowed with faculties capable of knowing and worshipping him. According to the principle laid down in the preceding lectures, that all the tribes of mankind have descended from one progenitor, this knowledge, if at first communicated to the original parents of the human race, would be easily transmitted to their descendants, and would be likely to retain its purity so long as those descendants formed one family, and inhabited one country.—But when by the increase of their numbers, the dispersion of their numerous offspring, and especially by the confusion of tongues, the human family became scattered and broken, their knowledge of the only living and true God became corrupted, and the grossest conceptions of a depraved mind were substituted for the original truths of revelation.

On this subject, an intelligent author writes thus: "Many causes would conspire to dissolve the primitive family of mankind, after the death of its ancestor, into separate and independent tribes, of which some would be driven by violence, or would voluntarily wander to a distance from the rest. From this dispersion, great changes would arise in the opinion of some of the tribes respecting the object of their religious worship—a single family, or a small tribe banished into a desert wilderness, (such as the whole earth must then have been,) would find employment for all their time in providing the means of subsistence, and in defending themselves from beasts of prey. In such circumstances they would find little leisure for meditation; and being constantly conversant with objects of sense, they would gradually lose the *power* of meditating upon the spiritual nature of that Being, by whom their ancestors had taught them that all things were created. The first wanderers would no doubt retain, in tolerable purity, their original notions of Deity, and would certainly endeavour to impress those notions on their children; but in circumstances infinitely more favourable to speculation than theirs could have been, the human mind dwells not long on notions purely intellectual. We are so accustomed to sensible objects, and to the ideas of space, extension and figure which they are perpetually impressing on the imagination, that we find it extremely difficult to conceive of any being without assigning to it a form and a place. Hence a learned writer, (bishop Law, in his Considerations on the Theory of Religion,) has supposed that the earliest generations of men, and even those to whom he contends that frequent revelations were made, may have been no better than *anthropomorphites* in their conceptions of the Divine Being."

Be this as it may, it is not conceivable but that the members of those first colonies would quickly lose many of the arts and much of the science which perhaps prevailed in the parent state; and that, fatigued with the contemplation of intellectual objects, they would relieve their overstrained faculties by attributing to the Deity a place of abode, if not a human form. To men totally illiterate, the place fittest for the inhabitation of the Deity would undoubtedly appear to be the *sun*; the most beautiful and glorious object of which they could form any idea; an object too from which they could not but be sensible that they received the benefits of light and heat, and which experience must soon have taught them to be in a great measure.

the source of vegetation. The great Spirit, therefore, inhabiting the sun, which they would consider as the power of light and heat, and "cause of fruitfulness, was in all probability the first object of idolatrous adoration."

To this probable sketch of the origin of idolatry, may be added the representations given by the apostle Paul in writing to the Christians at Rome, all of which proceed upon the principle of the corruption of knowledge primarily received by revelation from God. The idolatrous heathen are said "to have *changed* the glory of the incorruptible God into an *image*," &c. to have "changed the truth of God into a lie;" "they did not like to *retain* God in their knowledge," &c.; therefore the apostle argues, "they are without excuse, because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God," &c.—See on the subject of this note, lord Kaimes Sketches, vol. iv.—and Encyclop. Brittan. Article *Polytheism*.

[Note B.] *Progress of idolatry.*—The following extracts from the before-cited work of lord Kaimes contain so perspicuous a view of the several stages in the history of Polytheism, and tends so directly to corroborate the opinions stated in the text, that no apology can be necessary for introducing it in this place.

"That there exist beings, one or many, powerful above the human race, is a proposition universally admitted as true, in all ages and among all nations. I boldly call it universal, notwithstanding what is reported of some gross savages; for reports that contradict what is acknowledged to be general among men, require more able vouchers than a few illiterate voyagers. Among many savage tribes, there are no words but for objects of external sense: is it surprising that such people are incapable to express their religious perceptions, or any perception of internal sense? and from their silence, can it be fairly presumed that they have no such perception? The conviction that men have of superior powers in every country where there are words to express it, is so well vouched, that in fair reasoning it ought to be taken for granted among the few tribes where language is deficient. Even the grossest idolatry affords evidence of that conviction. No nation can be so brutish as to worship a stock or stone, merely as such: the visible object is always imagined to be connected with some invisible power; and the worship paid to the former, is as representing the latter, or as in some manner connected with it. Every family among the ancient Lithuanians, entertained a real serpent as a household god; and the same practice is at present universal among the negroes in the kingdom of Whidah: it is not the serpent that is worshipped, but some deity imagined to reside in it. The antient Egyptians were not idiots, to pay divine honours to a bull or a cat, as such; the divine honours were paid to a deity as residing in these animals. The sun is to man a familiar object; being frequently obscured by clouds, and totally eclipsed during night; a savage naturally conceives it to be a great fire, sometimes flaming bright, sometimes obscured, and sometimes extinguished. Whence then sun worship, once universal among savages? Plainly from the same cause: it is not properly the sun that is worshipped, but a deity who is supposed to dwell in that luminary." Lord Kaimes's Sketches, vol. iv. p. 190—192.

"The sense of Deity, like many other delicate senses, is in savages so faint and obscure, as easily to be biassed from truth. Among them, the belief of many superior beings is universal. And two causes join to produce that belief. The first is, that being accustomed to a plurality of visible objects, men, mountains, trees, cattle, and such like, they are naturally led to imagine a like plurality in things not visible; and from that slight bias, slight indeed, but natural, is partly derived the system of Polytheism, universal among savages. The other is, that savages know little of the connection between causes and effects, and still less of the order and government of the world: every event that is not familiar, appears to them singular and extraordinary; and if such event exceed human power, it is without hesitation ascribed to a superior being. But as it occurs not to a savage, nor to any person who is not a philosopher, that the many various events exceeding human power and seemingly unconnected, may all proceed from the same cause, they are readily ascribed to different beings. Pliny ascribes Polytheism to the consciousness men have of their imbecility. 'Our powers are confined within narrow bounds: we do not readily conceive powers in the Deity much more extensive; and we supply by number what is wanting in power.' Polytheism, thus founded, is the first stage in the progress of theology; for it is embraced by the rudest savages, who have neither capacity nor inclination to pierce deeper into the nature of things.

"This stage is distinguishable from others, by a belief that all superior beings are malevolent. Man, by nature weak and helpless, is prone to fear, dreading every new object and every unusual event. Savages, having no protection against storms, tempests, nor other external accidents; and having no pleasures but in gratifying hunger, thirst, and animal love, have much to fear, and little to hope. In that disconsolate condition, they attribute the bulk of their distresses to invisible beings, who in their opinion must be malevolent. This seems to have been the opinion of the Greeks in the days of Solon; as appears in a conversation between him and Crœsus, king of Lydia, mentioned by Herodotus in the first book of his history. 'Crœsus,' said Solon, 'you ask me about human affairs, and I answer as one who thinks, that all the gods are envious and disturbers of mankind.' The negroes on the coast of Guinea, dread their deities as tyrants and oppressors: having no conception of a good deity, they attribute the few blessings they receive to the soil, to the rivers, to the trees, and to the plants. The Lithuanians continued Pagans down to the fourteenth century, and worshipped in gloomy woods, where their deities were held to reside. Their worship probably was prompted by fear, which is allied to gloominess. The people of Kamtschatka acknowledge to this day many malevolent deities, having little or no notion of a good deity. They believe the air, the water, the mountains, and the woods, to be inhabited by malevolent spirits, whom they fear and worship. The savages of Guiana

ascribe to the devil even their most common diseases; nor do they ever think of another remedy, but to apply to a sorcerer to drive him away. Such negroes as believe in the devil, paint his images white. Besides the Esquimaux, there are many tribes in the extensive country of Labrador, who believe the Deity to be malevolent, and worship him out of fear. When they eat, they throw a piece of flesh into the fire as an offering to him; and when they go to sea in a canoe, they throw something on the shore to render him propitious. Sometimes, in a capricious fit, they go out with guns and hatchets to kill him; and, on their return, boast that they have done so.

"Conviction of superior beings, who, like men, are of a mixed nature, sometimes doing good, sometimes mischief, constitutes the second stage. This came to be the system of theology in Greece. The introduction of writing among the Greeks, while they were little better than savages, produced a compound of character and manners, that has not a parallel in any other nation. They were acute in science, skilful in fine arts, extremely deficient in morals, gross beyond conception in theology, and superstitious to a degree of folly; a strange jumble of exquisite sense and absurd nonsense." *Ibid.* p. 210—214.

"A division of invisible beings into benevolent and malevolent, without any mixture of these qualities, makes the third stage. The talents and feelings of men refine gradually under good government; social amusements begin to make a figure; benevolence is highly regarded; and some men are found without gall. Having thus acquired a notion of pure benevolence, and finding it exemplified in some eminent persons, it was an easy step in the progress of theological opinions, to bestow the same character upon some superior beings. This led men to distinguish their gods into two kinds, essentially different, one entirely benevolent, another entirely malevolent; and the difference between good and ill, which are diametrically opposite, favoured that distinction. Fortunate events out of the common course of nature, were accordingly ascribed to benevolent deities; and unfortunate events of that kind, to malevolent. In the time of Pliny the elder, malevolent deities were worshipped at Rome. He mentions a temple dedicated to *Bad Fortune*; another to the disease termed a *Fever*. The Lacedæmonians worshipped *Death* and *Fear*; and the people of Cadiz, *Poverty* and *Old Age*; in order to deprecate their wrath. Such gods were by the Romans termed *Averræus*, as putting away evil.

"Conviction of one supreme benevolent Deity, and of inferior deities, some benevolent, some malevolent, is the fourth stage. Such conviction, which gains ground in proportion as morality ripens, arises from a remarkable difference between gratitude and fear. Willing to shew my gratitude for some kindness proceeding from an unknown hand, several persons occur to my conjectures; but I always fix at last upon one person as the most likely. Fear is of an opposite nature; it expands itself upon every suspicious person, and blackens them all. Thus, upon providential good fortune above the power of man, we naturally rest upon one benevolent Deity as the cause; and to him we confine our gratitude and veneration. When, on the other hand, we are struck with an uncommon calamity, every object that possibly may be the cause, raises terror. Hence the propensity in savages to multiply objects of fear; but to confine their gratitude and veneration to a single object. Gratitude and veneration, at the same time, are of such a nature, as to raise a high opinion of the person who is their object; and when a single invisible being is understood to pour out blessings with a liberal hand, good men, inflamed with gratitude, put no bounds to the power and benevolence of that being. And thus one supreme benevolent Deity comes to be recognized among the more enlightened savages. With respect to malevolent deities, as they are supposed to be numerous, and as there is no natural impulse for elevating one above another, they are all of them held to be of an inferior rank, subordinate to the supreme Deity." *Ibid.* p. 223—225.

"The belief of one supreme benevolent Deity, and of subordinate deities, benevolent and malevolent, is, and has been, more universal than any other religious creed. I confine myself to a few instances; for a complete enumeration would be endless. The different savage tribes in Dutch Guiana, agree pretty much in their articles of faith. They hold the existence of one supreme Deity, whose chief attribute is benevolence; and to him they ascribe every good that happens. But as it is against his nature to do ill, they believe in subordinate malevolent beings, like our devil, who occasion thunder, hurricanes, earthquakes, and who are the authors of death, diseases, and of every misfortune. To these devils, termed in their language *Yowahs*, they direct every supplication, in order to avert their malevolence; while the supreme Deity is entirely neglected: so much more powerful among savages, is fear than gratitude. The North American savages have all of them a notion of a supreme Deity, Creator, and Governor of the world; and of inferior deities, some good, some ill. These are supposed to have bodies, and to live much as men do, but without being subjected to any distress. The same creed prevails among the negroes of Benin and Congo, among the people of New Zealand, among the inhabitants of Java, of Madagascar, of the Molucca islands, and of the Caribbee islands. The Chingulese, a tribe in the island of Ceylon, acknowledge one God, creator of the universe, with subordinate deities who act as his deputies: agriculture is the peculiar province of one, navigation of another. The creed of the Tonquinese is nearly the same. The inhabitants of Otaheite, termed King George's Island, believe in one supreme Deity; and in inferior deities without end, who preside over particular parts of the creation. They pay no adoration to the supreme Deity, thinking him too far elevated above his creatures to concern himself with what they do. They believe the stars to be children of the sun and moon; and an eclipse to be the time of copulation. According to Arnobius, certain Roman deities presided over the various operations of men. Venus presided over carnal copulation; Puta assisted at pruning trees; and Peta in requesting benefits; Nemestrinus was god of the woods; Nodutus ripened corn;

and Terensis helped to thrash it; Vibilia assisted travellers; orphans were under the care of Orbona; and dying persons of Nœnia; Ossilago hardened the bones of infants; and Mellonia protected bees, and bestowed sweetness on their honey. The inhabitants of the island of Formosa recognize two supreme deities in company; the one a male, god of the men; the other a female, goddess of the women. The bulk of their inferior deities are the souls of upright men, who are constantly doing good; and the souls of wicked men, who are constantly doing ill. The inland negroes acknowledge one supreme Being, creator of all things; attributing to him infinite power, infinite knowledge, and ubiquity. They believe that the dead are converted into spirits, termed by them *Ianamini*, or protectors, being appointed to guard their parents and relations. The antient Goths, and several other northern nations, acknowledged one supreme Being, and at the same time worshipped three subordinate deities; Thor, reputed same with Jupiter; Oden, or Woden, the same with Mars; and Friga, the same with Venus. Socrates taking the cup of poison from the executioner, held it up toward heaven, and pouring out some of it as an oblation to the supreme Deity, pronounced the following prayer: 'I implore the immortal God, that my translation hence may be happy.' Then turning to Crito, said, 'O Crito! I owe a cock to Esculapius, pay it.' From this incident, we find that Socrates, soaring above his countrymen, had attained to the belief of a supreme benevolent Deity. But in that dark age of religion, such purity is not to be expected from Socrates himself, as to have rejected subordinate deities, even of the mercenary-kind.

"Different offices being assigned to the gods, as above mentioned, proper names followed of course. And when a god was ascertained by a name, the busy mind would naturally proceed to trace his genealogy.

"As unity in the Deity was not an established doctrine in the countries where the Christian religion was first promulgated, Christianity could not fail to prevail over Paganism; for improvements in the mental faculties lead by sure steps, though slow, to one God.

"The fifth stage is, the belief of one supreme benevolent Deity, as in that immediately foregoing, with many inferior benevolent deities, and one only who is malevolent. As men improve in natural knowledge, and become skilful in tracing causes from effects, they find much less malice and ill design than was imagined: humanity at last prevails, which, with improved knowledge, banish the suspicion of ill design, in every case where an event can be explained without it. In a word, a settled opinion of good prevailing in the world, produced conviction among some nations, less ignorant than their neighbours, and less brutal, that there is but one malevolent subordinate deity, and good subordinate deities without number. The antient Persians acknowledged two principles; one all good and all powerful, named *Hormuz*, and by the Greeks corruptly *Oromazes*; the other evil, named *Ahariman*, and by the Greeks *Arimanes*. Some authors assert, that the Persians held these two principles to be co-eternal: others, that Oromazes first subsisted alone, that he created both light and darkness, and that he created Arimanes out of darkness. That the latter was the opinion of the antient Persians, appears from their Bible, termed the *Sadder*; which teaches, That there is one God, supreme over all; many good angels, and but one evil spirit. Plutarch acquaints us, that Hormuz and Ahariman, ever at variance, formed each of them creatures of their own stamp; that the former created good genii, such as goodness, truth, wisdom, justice; and that the latter created evil genii, such as infidelity, falsehood, oppression, theft. This system of theology, commonly termed the *Manichean system*, is said to be also the religious creed of Pegu, with the following addition, that the evil principle only is to be worshipped; which is abundantly probable, as fear is a predominant passion in barbarians. The people of Florida believe a supreme benevolent Deity, and a subordinate deity, that is malevolent: neglecting the former, who, they say, does no harm, they bend their whole attention to soften the latter, who, they say, torments them day and night. The inhabitants of Darien acknowledge but one evil spirit, of whom they are desperately afraid. The Hottentots, mentioned by some writers as altogether destitute of religion, are on the contrary farther advanced towards its purity than some of their neighbours. Their creed is, That there is a supreme Being, who is goodness itself; of whom there is no occasion to stand in awe, as he is incapable, by his nature, to hurt them; that there is also a malevolent spirit, subordinate to the former, who must be served and worshipped in order to avert his malice. The Epicurean doctrine with respect to the gods in general, That being happy in themselves, they extend not their providential care to men, differs not widely from what the Hottentot believes with respect to the supreme Being.

"Having traced the sense of deity from its dawn in the grossest savages to its approaching maturity among enlightened nations, we proceed to the last stage of the progress, which makes the true system of theology; and that is, conviction of a supreme Being, boundless in every perfection, without subordinate deities, benevolent or malevolent. Savages learn early to trace the chain of causes and effects, with respect to ordinary events: they know that fasting produces hunger; that labour occasions weariness; that fire burns; that the sun and rain contribute to vegetation. But when they go beyond such familiar events, they lose sight of cause and effect: the changes of weather, of winds, of heat and cold, impress them with a notion of chance: earthquakes, hurricanes, storms of thunder and lightning, which fill them with terror, are ascribed to malignant beings of greater power than man. In the progress of knowledge, light begins to break in upon them: they discover, that such phenomena, however tremendous, come under the general law of cause and effect; and that there is no ground for ascribing them to malignant spirits. At the same time, our more refined senses ripen by degrees: social affections come to prevail, and morality makes a deep impression. In maturity of sense and understanding, benevolence appears more and more; and beautiful final causes are discovered in many of nature's productions, that formerly were thought useless, or perhaps hurtful: and the time may

come, we have solid ground to hope that it will come, when doubts and difficulties about the government of providence will all be cleared up; and every event be found conducive to the general good. Such views of Providence banish malevolent deities; and we settle at last in a most comfortable opinion, either that there are no such beings; or that, if they exist and are permitted to perpetrate any mischief, it is in order to produce greater good. Thus, through a long maze of errors, man arrives at true religion, acknowledging but one Being, supreme in power, intelligence, and benevolence, who created all other beings, to whom all other beings are subjected, and who directs every event to answer the best purposes. This system is true theology."

Ibid. p. 226—235.

[Note C.] *On Zerdusht, and the Magian religion*—The Greeks, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science among the nations whom they style Barbarians, have left very confused and contradictory statements relative to this celebrated philosopher. But the oriental writers are better agreed in their testimonies concerning him. From the latter sources of information, it appears that Zerdusht or Zoroaster, flourished in the reign of Gushasp, and is supposed either to have founded, or revived and greatly increased, the sect of the Magians, or fire worshippers. The Persian and Arabic writers affirm, either that he was a Jew, or that he went into Judea in early youth, and received his education under one of the prophets. On his arrival in Persia, he took upon him the character of a prophet, and pretended to have received revelations from God. Preparatory to his public appearance in this character, he retired into a cave, where he composed his famous book, entitled *Zendavasta*, which contained the principles of that religious system which he afterwards succeeded in propagating throughout the Persian empire. This book was originally written in 1200 skins of vellum, and consisted of twenty-one parts or distinct treatises. These included not only the institutes of his religion, but also the fictitious history of their author, and the rudiments of most of the sciences which were then discovered.

Of the doctrines taught by Zerdusht, the following summary may not be unacceptable, extracted from a work of considerable authority.

"The two reigning heresies, before the birth of Zerdusht, were zabiism and magism; the latter one was far less gross than the former; and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion; for history informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass, that the Zabians gained ground in *Persia*; and multitudes, especially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshipping him; living also in continual fear of the evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species, and the continual disturber of the world. Zerdusht took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been by inspiring them with reasonable opinions. He taught them, that the supreme Being was independent, and self-existent from all eternity; that *light* and *darkness*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the Creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that, in the end, there would be a general resurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, should go, with the angel of light, into a realm of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those who had done evil, should suffer, with the angel of darkness, everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy shall ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness shall be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the Divinity, especially of his wisdom and justice; in consequence of which, he assured them, that they had none to fear but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues, he esteemed what the *Greeks*, called *philanthropy*, and the apostles *brotherly love*, the greatest; for which reason, he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times driving them, as it were, by threatenings. The *credo* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed; though, according to the mode of the East, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations; as for example, when he taught, that, on the fourth day of our death, the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavan*, and was there met by the angels *Mihr-Tzad*, and *Reshu-Tzad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass; and, in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge; if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is, into the region of darkness, where the souls of the wicked are punished. He carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend. He declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act; wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works. This he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sadder*, and which runs in these words: "It is reported of Zerdusht, the author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the body of a man plunged in *Gehenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking without. Zerdusht thereupon cried out, What is this that I see? and wherefore is this man in this condition? He was answered, This man, whom you see in this condition, was formerly the prince of thirty-three cities, over which he reigned many years, without doing any one good action; for, besides, oppression, injustice, pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind; and, though he was the scourge of

multitudes, yet, without regarding their misery, he lived at ease in his palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by the foot in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from food, that it must have perished. This king, moved at the sight, and alighting from his horse, released the sheep from the thicket, and led it to the pasture. Now, for this act of tenderness and compassion, his foot remains out of Gehenna, though his whole body be plunged therein for the multitude of his sins. Endeavour, therefore, to do all the good thou canst, without fear or apprehension, for God is benign and merciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou doest." These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the religion of the antient Persians, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of Zerdusht's scheme of religion. As to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect *pyrea*, or fire temples, throughout all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the Divinity might not, at every turn, be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven; and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language, in which it is written, is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests themselves. The priests, or, as we style them, the *magi*, were, according to his institution, of three ranks: the first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as *Dr. Prideaux* very significantly terms them. Their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn times, to acquaint the people with the contents of Zerdusht's books, and to paraphrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels, there were no fire altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendency of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us. These too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them; who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to supply it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the *archimagus*, the high priest; or, as the Persians styled him, the *mubadimbadan*. Zerdusht himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Baleh*, where he governed his *magians*, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life, and his extensive knowledge, supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the *archimagus*, the same behaviour, and the same application to study, unto his successors. These injunctions were, for many ages, pursued by them; and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us, in this time, *this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the East over the king of kings.*

[Note D.] *Character and influence of Mahometanism.*—"If we view the state of the nations among whom Mahometanism is established, we cannot hesitate a moment to declare it friendly to ignorance, to despotism, and to impurity of manners. The Turks, the Persians, and the Malays, are all Mahometans; and in reviewing their history, and considering their present state, we might find a sufficient number of facts to justify the above assertion; and we must not neglect to observe, that, as those nations are not known to have ever been since their conversion to Mahometanism under a much happier government, or in a much more civilized state than at present, it cannot be, with any degree of fairness, argued, with respect to Mahometanism as with respect to Christianity, that it is only when its influence is so opposed by other causes as to prevent it from procuring its full effects, that it does not conduct those societies among which it is established to an high state of civilization and refinement. One, and that by no means an inconsiderable part of the Koran, was occasionally invented to solve some difficulty with which the prophet found himself at the time perplexed, or to help him to the gratification of his ruling passions, lust, and ambition. When he and his followers were, at any time, unsuccessful in those wars by which he sought to propagate his religion, to prevent them from falling away into unbelief, or sinking into despondency, he took care to inform them, that God suffered such misfortunes to fatal believers, as a punishment for their sins, and to try their faith. The doctrine of predestination, which he assiduously inculcated, had an happy effect to persuade his followers to rush boldly into the midst of death and danger at his command. He prevailed with Zeyd to put away his wife, married her himself, and pretended that his crime had the approbation of heaven; and, in the Koran, he introduces the Deity approving of this marriage. Being repulsed from the siege of Mecca, he made a league with the inhabitants; but on the very next year, finding it convenient to surprize the city, by violating this treaty, he justified his perfidy by teaching his followers to disregard promises or leagues made with infidels. In some instances again, we find absurd prohibitions enjoined for similar reasons: his officers, having on some occasion drunk to excess, excited much riot and confusion in the camp, he prohibited the use of wine and other inebriating liquors, among his followers in future. Now, though it must be acknowledged that many evils arise from the use of these liquors, yet we cannot but think that, when used in moderation, they are in many cases beneficial to men; and certainly as much allowed by God as opium, which the Mahometans have substituted in their place.

Mahomet is allowed to have copied from the Christian and the Jewish religions, as well as from the idolatrous superstitions which prevailed through Arabia, and thus to have formed a motley mixture of reason and absurdity, of pure theism and wild superstition. He considered also the circumstances of his country, and the prejudices of his countrymen. When he attended to the former, he was generally judicious enough

to suit his doctrines and decisions to them with sufficient skill; the latter he also managed with the greatest art: but he entered into accommodation with them in instances when a true prophet or a wise and upright legislator would surely have opposed them with decisive vigour. Where the prophet indulges his own fancy, or borrows from the superstitions of his countrymen, nothing can be more ridiculous than that rhapsody of lies, contradictions, and extravagant fables, which he delivers to his followers. Amazing are the absurdities which he relates concerning the patriarchs, concerning Solomon, and concerning the animals that were assembled in Noah's ark.

But in the whole tissue of absurdities of which his system consists, there is nothing more absurd, or more happily calculated to promote impurity of manners, than his descriptions of heaven and hell; the ideas of future rewards and punishments which he sought to impress on the minds of his followers. Paradise was to abound with rivers, trees, fruits, and shady groves; wine which would not intoxicate was to be there plentifully served up to believers; the inhabitants of that happy region were all to enjoy perpetual youth; and their powers of enjoyment were to be enlarged and invigorated, in order that so many fine things might not be thrown away upon them. "Instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants of Paradise with a liberal taste for harmony, and science, conversation, and friendship, (says Mr. Gibbon,) Mahomet idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual luxury. Seventy-two hours, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged for 1000 years, and his faculties will be increased 100 fold, to render him worthy of his felicity." It must be acknowledged that he allows believers other more refined enjoyments than these; thus they are to see the face of God morning and evening; a pleasure which is far to exceed all the other pleasures of Paradise.

The following is his description of the punishments of hell: The wicked are there to drink nothing but boiling stinking water; breathe nothing but hot winds; dwell for ever in continual burning fire and smoke; eat nothing but briars and thorns, and the fruit of a tree that riseth out of the bottom of hell, whose branches resemble the heads of devils, and whose fruits shall be in their bellies like burning pitch.

All that we can conclude from a general view of the religion of Mahomet, from considering of the prophet, or from reviewing the history of the nations among whom it has been established, is, that it is one tissue of absurdities; with a few truths, however, and valuable precepts incongruously intermixed; that a great part of it is unfavourable to virtuous manners, to wise and equal laws, and to the progress of knowledge and refinement. It often inculcates in a direct manner sentiments that are highly immoral; it substitutes trifling, superstitious observances, in the room of genuine piety and moral virtue; and it gives such views of futurity as render purity of heart no necessary qualification for seeing God.

[Note E.] *Eras of the reformation.*—The history of this memorable event, which has conduced so essentially to the present improved state of society, and the advancement of knowledge, is too familiar to every reader to need a circumstantial detail in this place. The design of the present note is merely to trace its progress in the several countries of Europe, and to designate the periods at which it is supposed to have commenced.

In *Germany*, the heroic Luther first opened his battery on the papal hierarchy, in the year 1517; and was subsequently aided by the talents and zeal of his illustrious cotemporaries, Melancthon, Carlostadires, and other eminent reformers. In 1520, the reformation, which was rapidly spreading through the German states, was checked by the resolutions of the diet of Worms. In 1526, the first diet of Spires passed counter resolutions, which proved eminently favourable to the cause of the reformers; but which were revoked in a second diet, held at the same place, in 1529: in consequence of which, the minority drew up a protest, and were subsequently designated *Protestants*.—The *confession of Augsburg*, drawn up by Luther and his brethren at the request of the elector of Saxony, and the other protestant princes, was presented to the emperor Charles V. in 1530. The *Smalcaldic league*, in which all the protestant princes of Germany pledged themselves to support the reformation, was ratified in 1531. The *articles of Smalcald*, which are annexed to the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church, were drawn up in 1537. In 1541, a conference was appointed by the emperor to be maintained between the most eminent theologians on either side, which took place at the diet of Ratisbon. In 1543, the celebrated council of Trent was summoned by the pope. The war between the emperor and protestant princes of Germany followed, which lasted about nine years, and was terminated by the treaty of Ausburg, in 1555. *Surkerland* quickly caught the flame of protestant zeal from Saxony. In 1520, Zuinglius, a man scarcely inferior to Luther himself in vigour and intrepidity of mind, publicly opposed the Franciscan friars, and exposed the corruptions of the church of Rome. The cantons of Zurich, Bern, Basil, and Chaffhausen, were soon induced to throw off the popish yoke, and profess the reformed religion; a result to which the united labours of Zuinglius, Calvin, Oſcolampadius, and others, chiefly contributed. In *Denmark*, the reformation commenced in 1521, under the auspices of Christian II. who embraced the sentiments of Luther. By his request, Martin Reinhard, one of the disciples of Carlostadt, came from Saxony, to preside over the theological department in the university of Hafnia; and after his death, Carlostadt himself accepted of the appointment. Christian's successor, Frederic duke of Holstein, completed the reformation of religion in Denmark, by procuring a decree at an assembly of the states held in 1527, at Odensee, which gave liberty of conscience to every Dane. In 1539, a second assembly held at Odensee, under the auspices of Christian III., established Lutheranism throughout the kingdom.

In *France*, the reformation was patronized as early as the year 1523, by the queen of Navarre. The fluctuating, and frequently the persecuting measures of Francis, the French monarch, checked its progress; but it was vigorously defended and propagated by the celebrated Calvin. It was not, however, till the year 1598, and after torrents of protestant blood had been shed, that liberty of conscience was granted to the Lutheran and reformed churches by the celebrated edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV. In *Spain* and *Italy*, the reformation at first made considerable progress, particularly in the states of *Venice*, *Tuscany*, and *Naples*. But the terrors of the inquisition, and the weight of ecclesiastical influence, soon scattered or destroyed the advocates of the reformed religion, and extinguished the light which had begun to dawn on these unhappy countries. In *England*, the reformation commenced, (as is well known to all,) during the reign of Henry VIII. about the year 1529, chiefly through Cranmer's influence; though the earliest dawn of this brighter period of the Christian church in Britain may be traced much higher, to the days of *Wickliffe* and others, who were known by the name of *Lollards*. During the short, but most interesting reign of Edward VI., the doctrines of the reformation made the most rapid progress in this country, to which the exertions of *Martin Bucer* and *Paulus Fagius* greatly contributed. In *Ireland*, a vigorous attempt was made to establish and propagate the reformed religion in 1535, by *George Brown*, an Englishman, and a monk of the *Augustine* order, whom *Henry VIII.* created archbishop of *Dublin*. In *Scotland*, the reformation commenced early under the auspices of several *Scottish* nobles who had resided in *Germany*, and was strenuously maintained by the intrepid *Knox* and his brethren.

Philosophy of History.

LECTURE VI.

Remarkable Inventions.—Gunpowder: its Effects on War, Politics, &c.—The Mariner's Compass: its Effects on Navigation.—Printing: its early History.—The important Consequences of the Invention of Printing, in relation to Literature, and to the virtue and happiness of Society.—Probable future Condition of Mankind.—Valedictory Counsels.

IT now remains to investigate the fifth class of causes, by which it was proposed at the commencement of these lectures, to account for the diversified condition of mankind. This comprehends three remarkable inventions, which have had a most powerful tendency to change the internal character, and the relative condition of nations.

1. *Gunpowder.* This very powerful compound is said to have been invented by the Assamese, a people residing to the East of Bengal, just at the commencement of the farther India. From Assam, the invention passed to the Chinese, by whom it has been used for ages immemorial; but rather for the harmless purpose of decoration in fire-works, than for its utility in war. In Europe, it has been invented at least three times by different individuals. 1. By Marcus Græcus, a Venetian, in the eleventh century. 2. By Roger Bacon, the celebrated English experimental philosopher, who flourished about A. D. 1267, and who gives some account of the wonders of this compound in his "*Opus Magnum*," or "*Great Work*;" but lest an improper use should be made of his discovery, he transposed the letters of the Latin word for charcoal, so that if any one should afterwards hit on the same discovery, he might have evidence, that Roger Bacon had gone before him. Whether or not he acted consistently with an

enlightened humanity in preventing the propagation of his invention, is a question to which a reply will be attempted in a subsequent part of the present lecture.

3. Herman Swartz, a German chemist, re-invented gunpowder, (it has been said accidentally,) A. D. 1320; and, from that time to the present, its composition has been no longer a secret. It was first used by the Moors as a means of destruction, in 1343; and by the Venetians, in 1380: but the most celebrated occasion of its employment, was in the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453. The first fire arms were a species of artillery, composed of plates of brass riveted over each other; hence the transition was natural to common artillery; afterwards a lighter species of guns was constructed, which were managed by means of a rest; and these were formed first with match-locks, and afterwards with locks such as are now in use all over Europe.

A question now arises on which the opinions of mankind are widely different. "Is gunpowder in war more beneficial or injurious to mankind?" To which enquiry it may be replied. 1. That whoever compares the numbers slain in antient and in modern battles, cannot fail to discover, that the carnage was much greater previously to the invention of gunpowder, than it has been subsequently to that event. *Then, war was more a business of the passions; the struggle was more personal and individual; every one's fury was wrought up to the utmost pitch for personal safety; and each soldier, in seeking to slaughter his antagonist, saved himself, and seemed rather to gratify his private revenge, than to defend a public cause.* Besides, in such contests, the combatants extended themselves over large tracts of country, so that almost every man found an enemy with whom personally to contend. *In modern times, too, we may remark, that when either the desire of victory, or the fury of contending parties, is so violent as to overcome the love of life, missile weapons are generally neglected, and the contest is decided by the sabre, the bayonet, or the lance.*

2. By rendering it more difficult and expensive for individuals to train their followers to an adequate degree of military discipline, the invention of gunpowder diminished the power of the feudal system, and introduced the practice of standing armies, dependent on the crown. At the same time it ought to be remarked, that it has also tended greatly to preserve from the violence of popular insurrections. A moment's reflection must convince every one, that before gunpowder was invented, when soldiers were armed with different kinds of swords and spears, a mob might easily furnish itself with such weapons

hastily manufactured out of scythes and other rustic implements, which would render them formidable to a regular military force, as then constituted and armed; but now a few troops can, with the utmost ease, disperse an otherwise overwhelming mass of undisciplined rioters.

3. The invention of gunpowder has led to the cultivation of those sciences, which are connected with military mathematics; and has so far been favourable to the extension of this branch of knowledge.

4. No reasonable doubt can now be entertained as to the stability of civilization; the invention of gunpowder has for ever fixed the balance in favour of civilized society. This advantage has no doubt been attended with its evils; and, in consequence of this superiority, savages have not unfrequently been treated in the most unjust and brutal manner: but after all, it is not to savage life that we must look for the reformers of mankind. The savage makes war upon the arts; his victories convert the country he has depopulated into a permanent desert. On the other hand, the victories of civilized nations, even when most criminal in their causes and operations, are attended with some permanent advantage. The hostile collision of civilized states indirectly tend to the improvement of science, and the wider diffusion of knowledge. Their progress in arms increases the sphere of geographical knowledge, and thus prepares the way, by which philanthropists of succeeding generations may pursue their celestial labours with increased effect. It may also be here remarked, that the invention of gunpowder has been eminently conducive to foreign discoveries; since it has led to the construction of larger shipping, and has given to the European, a superiority over the native inhabitants, for which no numbers can compensate.

5. Previously to the invention of gunpowder, the residence of the great was in dark, cheerless, massy buildings, constructed much more with a view to military defence, than either to convenience or beauty; but since such residences have been found to afford but a very feeble protection against the artillery of the state, these antient castles are now generally superseded by other buildings, constructed with much more taste and elegance, as well as more suited to the convenience and comfort of their inhabitants. A change was thus effected that must have powerfully contributed to augment the enjoyments of the higher classes of society, who are no longer immured in castellated mansions. Nor is this all; as man is an animal ever disposed to imitation, and in most

instances to look to his superiors as examples, a better style of building has descended even to the cottage, and thus the domestic comforts of every class has been considerably increased. Whatever view, therefore, we take of the subject, the happiness of mankind seems to have been increased, or the scene of his miseries diminished by the invention of gunpowder; and consequently, if Roger Bacon had fully announced his discovery to mankind, he would not have deserved a less degree of gratitude from his fellow-creatures than that with which his memory has already been honoured.

2. *The mariner's compass.* This has also been at least twice invented; first in Asia, and afterwards in Europe. It has been used in China for many ages; but the construction of this important instrument has been less artificial and useful in the East than that which has been adopted by Europeans. Its re-invention in this part of the world is attributed, though not without some controversy, to Flavio Gira, a native of Amalfi, in Naples, (A. D. 1302,) who was therefore permitted to quarter the mariner's compass in his arms. At all events, the antients have no claim to this kind of knowledge, for they regarded the load-stone as an animal, on account of its attractive and repulsive powers.

The effects of the discovery of the mariner's compass on modern navigation, have been so great, that no one presumes to call them in question. They will appear most evident, if we compare the geographical knowledge of the antients and moderns. 1. The antients were thoroughly acquainted with scarcely any portion of the world, except that which was comprehended either in the Roman or Persian empire. 2. Their imperfect knowledge extended as far as the Baltic sea, over portions of Hungary, Poland, the southern provinces of Russia, and some districts of Siberia, Tartary, and India. In Africa, they seem to have had a pretty good acquaintance with the northern interior; but of the whole western hemisphere we have no reason to suppose they had any knowledge. The moderns, on the contrary, are acquainted with almost every part of the world except the interior of Africa, and some large inland provinces of North and South America.

It is remarkable, that the most important nautical discoveries have been the result of false reasoning; and have been attended with very different results from those which the original projectors anticipated. Thus when Columbus sailed towards America, he supposed India to have been at least twice as extensive as it is; and therefore those islands which he discovered, were called the *West Indies*.

Indies, on the mistaken supposition that they formed the Western extremity of the Indian territory. The attempt to discover north eastern and north western passages to India, have also led to important discoveries on the more northern shores of Asia and America. Lastly, the mistaken opinion of the existence of a great southern continent, has led navigators to explore more carefully the vast pacific ocean, and make many discoveries there.

3. *Printing.* The art of printing, like that of gunpowder, and the use of the mariner's compass, was invented in Asia, and re-invented in Europe. In China, it had been practised for ages, though only in the form of block printing; which it has been maintained by some writers, is the only species of printing adapted to the nature of the language spoken in that vast and populous empire. Its re-invention in Europe has been attributed to several persons, places, and æras: but the most generally received account is, that, in the year 1420, Laurentius the koster, or keeper of the sacred vestments, belonging to the cathedral of Haerlem in Holland, cut some letters on the smooth bark of a tree, and made impressions with these for the amusement of his grandchildren. Accordingly, the earliest specimens of printing were performed by means of the slab or block. They were employed for the purpose of exhibiting the picture of some saint, or representing some holy mystery; and a few words were rudely cut to inform the reader more fully on the subject. When it was determined to form these rude specimens into books, the blank sides were pasted together, as they hitherto used only common ink, and were consequently unable to print on both sides. From wooden blocks, the transition is said to have been to moveable wooden types; these were found too imperfect to be long continued in use. The third gradation in the art of printing consisted of metal types, each separately cut, and therefore attended with much greater expence and difficulty than the modern practice. The fourth and most valuable improvement in this art was the adoption of fusile metal types, cast in matrices, such as have now for a long time continued in use. We have mentioned the art of printing as having been probably invented at Haerlem, whence the first printing press is said to have been removed by the celebrated Fust or Faustus, to Mentz; within the walls of which city it was confined till the year 1462, when the workmen were dispersed by the pillage of that city, and wandering through different parts of Europe, established themselves in the principal cities. There are three very remarkable facts connected with the history of the art of printing, viz. 1. That an invention, which has shed such light on every other subject, should be itself involved in the utmost obscurity. 2. That, like learning, it

is indebted to military calamities for the extension of its benefits through different parts of Europe. 3. That so low was the taste for reading, long after the invention of printing, that though the first printers seldom published more than 200, 300, or 600 copies of any particular work, they frequently became bankrupts, and were ruined by the accumulation of stock. [Note A.]

In contemplating the consequences of this important discovery, the first point of view in which they engage our attention, respects its influence on the general history of literature. In order that a proper view may be taken of this subject, it is also necessary to glance at the state of learning during those ages in which there were no books, but manuscripts alone.

The most antient literary characters, who appear, from the records of history, to have first devoted their attention to the investigation of truth, were philosophers, poets, and priests; all of which characters were not unfrequently blended in the same individual. All these, whether living in Britain, Germany, Chaldea, Egypt, or India, appear to have been actuated by one principle, namely, the desire of preserving the discoveries they had made, or any other information they had obtained from various sources, with the most disingenuous secrecy, communicating them only to such persons as had been duly initiated. Hence they formed themselves into secret societies,—invented mysterious ceremonies,—employed hieroglyphical writing,—retained obsolete languages,—and, in many instances, committed nothing to writing, but trusted all to the memory of their disciples.

To these succeeded the Greek and Roman philosophers, with whose learning we are much better acquainted. They may be considered, both as men of extensive information, and as persons of refined taste; yet with considerable abatements, when compared with the attainments of modern times. They were acquainted with but a small portion of the surface of the earth; and with reference to many of those countries with whose names they were conversant, they were contented to relate the most absurd tales of giants, and pygmies, and griffins, and all other kinds of hideous monsters; they introduced few, if any, accurate distinctions, in the various departments of natural history; they had neither telescopes, microscopes, air pumps, nor any other species of instruments, necessary to the successful pursuit of experimental philosophy: they must consequently have been extremely deficient in that accumulation of fact, which is necessary for profound and correct reasoning, on almost every scientific subject.

Hence, in the different systems which they formed, imagination was permitted too much to usurp the place of reason, and the loosest analogies were frequently substituted for the soundest and most irrefragable arguments. Thus, for example, because eastern monarchs affected to derive much of their happiness from living in a state of proud and indolent seclusion from their subjects, Epicurus maintained, that the gods possessed an infinite felicity in being wholly abstracted from the government of the universe, and from the affairs of men. Others contended, that all the elements of nature were arranged according to their specific gravity ; and others recurred to theoretic reasonings and disquisitions, in order to account for the different phenomena of nature. Such were the antients, when considered as men of scientific information.

But we may contemplate them as occupying much higher ground, as persons of taste in the fine arts. It is universally admitted, that to attempt to excel the Greeks in painting, sculpture, and architecture, would be as difficult as it is easy to surpass them in science. But the advantages of the Greeks, in matters of taste, are partly real, and partly problematical. Their real advantages were derived from the following sources.

1. Antient Greece possessed a greater variety of scenery than most other countries ; and afforded specimens of all the four conditions of society, which have been alluded to in a former lecture. The harbours of Greece were frequented by ships from all parts of the then known world ; and the Grecian fleets in return visited every part of the Mediterranean. Agriculture flourished in many of the Grecian states, and was indeed the general national employment. Arcadia was devoted to pasturage ; and the celebrated hounds of Epirus, proved, by their size and excellence, how greatly its inhabitants were addicted to hunting. Thus were the most abundant resources opened, from which the poets, sculptors, and artists of ancient Greece, might collect materials for the execution of their designs.

2. It is to be remembered, that when Greece was in its most prosperous state, its influence extended over regions deeply sunk in ignorance and barbarism ; so that the encouraging idea was afforded to its illustrious statesmen, that they were making some addition to the stock of intellectual gratification, wherever their conquests extended ; and that the triumphs of their arms secured also the advancement of knowledge, and the extension of civilization. To these it may be added,

3. That the antients dwelt, as it were, on the horizon of time, and beyond the information which they have been pleased to communicate, we know nothing in their particular departments. Thus every line of Homer is critically examined with scrupulous attention, in the hope of obtaining some precious hint concerning the manners and customs of antiquity. The imagination is so charmed with this delightful vision, that the readers of Homer seldom give themselves much concern to separate the machinery of the poem, from the probable facts it records; whereas, if we read the productions of Walter Scott, or any other modern poet, there is little difficulty in ascertaining the precise limits of their information, or in determining where history terminates and fable begins. Hence it is evident, that the most important advantages, both real and fictitious, are on the side of the antient Greeks, in matters of taste.

In the latter days of the Roman empire, (and indeed immediately after the age of Augustus,) there appears to have been a very general decay of taste and literature; and, notwithstanding some transient revivals, that decay continued; and became more rapid; until it terminated in the darkness of the middle ages. This decline may be attributed to four causes. 1. Moral pravity, which pervaded and corrupted all classes of society; and, having first vitiated the heart, gradually extended its baneful influence over all the intellectual faculties, destroying the perception of moral beauty, and prompting writers to take improper and criminal methods to secure public applause. 2. The annihilation of public liberty, which rendered eloquence in a great degree nugatory. 3. A disposition to differ from those who had preceded them, when sufficient talents were not possessed to enable them to rival or excel them. There is reason to believe that this disposition will be felt more or less in every country that has advanced to a certain degree of literary eminence; and the present lecturer is much mistaken, if similar instances may not be detected in the literature of our own country. 4. The introduction of foreign words, occasioned by an intercourse with barbarous nations, tended greatly to debase the Latin language, to destroy its boasted purity, and thus to deteriorate the literary productions of the Romans.

At length the middle ages succeeded, the literature of which dark period, (if literature it may be called,) was chiefly of two kinds, *that of Arabia*, and *that of the schools*. The Arabians, besides indulging their taste, and agreeably occupying their time in scientific pursuits, had three other objects which they were very desirous of accomplishing. 1. To obtain immense wealth. For

this purpose, having studied the analogy of nature, they observed that water, which descended from the clouds, became absorbed by the earth, and was converted first into grass, then into meat, and finally into the human body. If, therefore, said the Arabian, such transmutation of substances take place, why not conclude that all matter is the same, differing only in form ; and if all matter, then all metals ; and if gold can be decomposed, and the structure of its several parts thoroughly understood, it may be easy to discover those parts in grosser metals ; and, by putting them skilfully together, compose the finest gold, which they called the philosopher's stone. Now though the anticipated discoveries were never made, yet in endeavouring to prosecute them, the most important steps were taken towards extending the boundaries of human science.

2. Another favourite object of the Arabian school, was, the prolongation of human life to an indefinite extent, especially that an opportunity might be afforded of enjoying the immense wealth which had been accumulated. It was hoped to obtain this by means of an immortalizing elixir, which was to cure the most inveterate diseases, and which, as some supposed, would be the same substance as that which would convert the baser metals into gold. Hence arose many valuable discoveries in the *materia medica*. 3. The Arabian was also, like other men, desirous of reading the dark volume of futurity ; and, for that purpose, studied with great diligence, the fallacious science of judicial astrology. Hence it became necessary to direct his attention to different parts of astronomy ; and for the same reason the knowledge of the Arabians, on these subjects, exceeded even that of the Greeks and Romans. Thus it appears, that in all these instances, as well as in those nautical discoveries to which we have before alluded, delusion was the precursor of truth ; and furnished motives for those researches, which led to the happiest results. This remark is capable of much more extensive application, as every one possessed of an active mind, and who has attentively observed the progress of science, must have had frequent opportunities of perceiving.

Another part of the learning of the middle ages consisted of the divinity, and philosophy of the schools, each consisting of a number of abstract subtleties, furnishing indeed abundant scope for contention ; but having little or no tendency towards the accurate investigation of facts, or towards the improvement of the condition of mankind ; or towards the cultivation of a becoming disposition to God and our neighbour. Yet let it not be imagined, that these exercises of the human faculties were altogether vain ; they served to prevent the mind from sinking into a state of complete torpor, than which no condition can be conceived more degrading or more dangerous.

Such was the progress of learning, previously to the discovery of printing, a discovery which has powerfully operated in several ways to promote its advancement and purity. 1. It has enabled the moderns, by multiplying the writings of the antients, to confer upon them a degree of immortality, which they could not have otherwise obtained. 2. As the correction of a single copy of an edition, is the correction of the edition itself; an opportunity is afforded of attaining to a degree of critical exactness in publication, which would otherwise have been impracticable. 3. The publication of the writings of the antients has not only communicated their knowledge to the moderns, but has furnished them also with excellent models for imitation, and shewn them wherein it is possible to excel. 4. It has increased the number of attested facts, by putting it in every one's power to publish his discoveries. 5. By increasing the number of witnesses, it becomes more easy, by the examination of authorities, to distinguish accurately between truth, and falsehood. 6. By increasing the number of labourers on facts already collected, it renders them productive of more useful reasoning. 7. By abolishing the *cast of literati*, so that no one can now draw the precise line of distinction between the learned, and the unlearned; it has caused common sense to be more employed in the affairs of science. 8. By diffusing information, and employing, on many occasions the aids of philosophy; it has increased the comforts of society. Such are the effects of the art of printing on literature; besides which it has been advantageous to the morals of society, and the public peace. It has aided the morals of society by opening to men of all classes, sources of intellectual gratification; and thus raising them, in some degree, above the dominion of mere sensual appetite. It has aided the public peace, not only by affording the means of detecting the designs of demagogues, but also by giving to every man who can read, and is desirous of mental improvement, a stake in the preservation of public tranquillity. [Note B.]

We have now completed our proposed survey of the five classes of causes, which account for the diversified condition of mankind; and it now only remains that we proceed to make a few concluding remarks on the probable future condition of the human race.

1. Knowledge appears to be making considerable progress towards perfection, and in proportion as it advances towards that result, its tendency must be to make mankind better acquainted with their true interest: and thus to prevent them from persevering in those mistaken measures, which naturally tend to involve them in misery.

2. Knowledge is not only augmented, but more widely diffused ; benevolent individuals and societies are labouring assiduously to convey it to the darkest and most distant regions of the earth. "Knowledge is power ;" we have therefore reason to hope that the time is not very far distant, when the distinction between savage and civilized life will cease ; or at least when these two descriptions of men will be too well acquainted with their personal interests and resources, to waste their energies in each others destruction. Some people, such as the Bedouin Arabs and Tartars, may probably, from the nature of their country, forever remain pastoral ; but the far greater part of mankind in a more civilized state, will unquestionably embrace the agricultural and commercial modes of life.

3. If we attend to the different revolutions, which have at different periods agitated the nations of the earth ; it would appear as if each had some tendency upon the whole, to promote the general benefit of mankind. The establishment of the Babylonian empire was probably better than the extirminating wars, which had previously raged among the Asiatic nations. The Persian monarchy was certainly better, and more solidly constructed, than the Babylonian. The Grecian commonwealths communicated, wherever their influence extended, a large portion of useful information ; but the Romans excelled all the rest of the world, in scattering extensively around them the precious seeds of civilization. After their empire had fallen, the civilization they had propagated withered for a season ; but revived, sprung up anew, and increased, until it may with truth be affirmed, that with many subjects of antiquity we are better acquainted than even the antiets themselves. The revolutions among the Arabians, Turks, and Tartars, the revival of literature, the discovery of remote parts of the earth, all have co-operated to promote the same happy results ; and seem to indicate an intention on the part of the Supreme Ruler of nations, to advance mankind in this world to a higher degree of felicity, than any they have yet attained.

4. The flood of light which is now thrown on the affairs of mankind, must effectually prevent the rulers of the earth from imagining, that their actions can be covered with the veil of secrecy. Hence we have little reason to apprehend the reappearance of such monsters in any part of Europe, as those which once disgraced the throne of imperial Rome. Europe has a public, which its rulers are obliged to respect, and consequently they must now assume at least the semblance of virtue.

5. The great efforts which are now making to diffuse the sacred scriptures in the vernacular languages of all nations, by enabling men to compare the text, the comment, and the example of the professed friends of Christianity; will guard effectually against the rise of such mighty evils as those which stained the annals of the middle ages: evils which, humanly speaking, could never have existed, had the Bible been previously diffused by means of the valuable art of printing.

Valedictory counsels.—1. The attention of the present audience has been occupied during several successive evenings with a course of lectures on the philosophy of history. It is, of course, impossible, on such occasions, to do more than trace the outlines of history; and many probably will be desirous of perfecting the progress of truth in every useful species of knowledge. A partiality for our own studies is much more easily felt than resisted; but if the lecturer may express his individual sentiments, he knows of no study (save only of that volume which all Christians regard as sacred,) better calculated to deliver the mind from narrow prejudices, and almost to banish the consciousness of our individual existence, while endeavouring to promote the general happiness of mankind. He would therefore recommend the prosecution of this study, in the way which he thinks most likely to lead to a happy result; and for this purpose would urge the importance of reading for facts rather than for inferences; to study rather plain annalists than philosophical historians; to accumulate all possible facts before they proceed to reasoning upon them; and then to go on contentedly classifying and arranging them, till a regular system grows imperceptibly in their hands.

2. In our first lecture we had occasion to investigate the character of Moses as an historian, and not only found that all authority was on the side of his being the author of the Pentateuch; but that he appeared to be possessed of those qualities, both intellectual and moral, which have fitted him to instruct us in those important subjects, of which he professed to treat. We examined particularly his position of the unity of the human family, and have discovered nothing, which should lead us to doubt or deny it. On the contrary, in the second lecture, we discover that the morality of the Christian religion is the only effectual remedy for those evils, which naturally result from extensive commerce. From the third, it has appeared that some great moral revolution must be effected in the minds of men before they will lay aside the practice of

hostility: and from the fourth, that to prevent the nations of the earth from injuring each other, some stronger principle must be in exercise than mere civilization. We entered on the fifth lecture with the hope of discovering such a principle, and were led to conclude with the remark, that no system of religion is equal to the Christian, even when exhibited in the most unfavourable circumstances. In the course of the present lecture, every thing has occurred to confirm, and nothing to contradict, these positions; so that we may now safely conclude, that the Bible is a book deserving our most serious, candid, and frequent perusal, and exerting the most beneficial influence on the present and future condition of the human race.

3. In contemplating the causes which have effected the ruin of empires, we discover them to have been the same, which often prove fatal to the happiness of individuals; namely, luxury, indolence, pride, and injustice; which fail not, sooner or later, to react upon ourselves. From all which, it is evident, that the philosophy of history, if properly attended to, has a strong tendency to excite every virtuous endeavour, and is calculated to warn us of the rocks of error, and quicksands of vice, among which myriads in past ages have made "shipwreck of faith, and of a good conscience," for want of attending to the unerring lights of morality, and religion.

Notes

TO THE SIXTH LECTURE.

[Note A.] *ON the invention of the art of printing.*—“ Some writers have ascribed the origin of this art to the East, and affixed a very early period to its invention, particularly P. Josius, in his Florentine History, from whom Osorius and many others have embraced the same opinion. But these have evidently confounded the European mode of printing with the *engraved tablets* which to this day are used in China. The invention of these tablets has been ascribed by many writers even to an earlier period than the commencement of the Christian era; but it is with more probability assigned, by the very accurate Phil. Couplet, to the year 930.”

The honour of having given rise to the European method of printing, has been claimed by the cities of Haerlem, Mentz, and Strasburgh; and to each of these it may be ascribed in a qualified sense, as they made improvements upon one another.

The following curious narrative of the steps by which the first inventor was led to the important discovery, is contained in a work written by Hadrian Junius, in 1588; who also mentions the names of the parties from whom his information was derived. After having asserted that the honour of having invented this art belonged to Laurentius, the custos of the cathedral at Haerlem, he proceeds thus: “ Walking in a wood near the city, (as the citizens of opulence used to do,) Laurentius began first to cut some letters on the rind of a beech tree; which for fancy’s sake, being impressed on paper, he printed one or two lines, as a specimen for his grand-children, (the sons of his daughter,) to follow. This having happily succeeded, he meditated greater things, (as he was a man of ingenuity and judgment;) and first of all, with his son-in-law Thomas Peter, (who, by the way, left three sons, who all attained the consular dignity,) invented a more glutinous writing ink, because he found the common ink sunk and spread; and then formed whole pages of wood, with letters cut upon them; of which sort I have seen some essays, in an anonymous work entitled, *Speculum nostre scientie*; in which it is remarkable, that in the infancy of printing, (as nothing is complete in its first invention,) the back sides of the pages were pasted together, that they might not by their nakedness betray their deformity. These beechen letters he afterwards changed for leaden ones, and these again for a mixture of tin and lead, (*stannas*,) as a less flexible and more solid and durable substance. Of the remains of which types, when they were turned to waste metal, those old wine-pots were cast, that are still preserved in the family house, which looks into the market-place, inhabited afterwards by his great-grand-son Gerard Thomas, a gentleman of reputation; whom I mention for the honour of the family, and who died old a few years since. A new invention never fails to engage curiosity. And when a commodity never before seen excited purchasers, to the advantage of the inventor, the admiration of the art increased, dependents were enlarged, and workmen multiplied; the first calamitous incident! among these was one John, whether, as we suspect, he had ominously the name of Faustus, unfaithful and unlucky to his master, or whether it was really a person of that name, I shall not much enquire; being unwilling to molest the silent shades, who suffer from a consciousness of their past actions in this life. This man, bound by oath to keep the secret of printing, when he thought he had learned the art of joining the letters, the method of casting the types, and other things of that nature, taking the most convenient time that was possible, on Christmas eve, when every one was customarily employed in lustful sacrifices, seizes the collection of types, and all the implements his master had got together, and, with one accomplice, marches off to Amsterdam, thence to Cologne, and at last settled at Mentz, as at an asylum of security, where he might go to work with the tools he had stolen. It is certain, that in a year’s time, big. in 1442, the *Doctrinae* of Alexander Galius, which was a grammar much used at that time, together with the *Treats* of Peter of Spain, came forth there from the same types as Laurentius had made use of at Haerlem.”

The type thus fraudulently obtained was carried to Mentz, but were soon superseded by the invention of metal instead of wooden moulds. This forms the second great step in the history of the art of which the following particulars have been preserved.

"In 1442, the first printing press was set up at Mentz, and the works published were executed with wooden types cut after the model of those which had been stolen. But it was soon found that these types were not sufficiently durable, and attempts were made to substitute for them *cut metal types*. The first work printed by Faustus with large cut metal types, was an edition of the Bible published in 1450; and a magnificent edition of the Psalter quickly followed, in the title page of which the publishers claim the merit of having invented the use of metal types; terming it *inventionem artificiosam imprimendi, or characternandi.*"

But there yet remained a third, and still more important improvement to be made in this art, which is ascribed to Peter Schoeffer, of Gensheim, who had been employed in the printing office of Faustus at Mentz. This was the discovery of *cast and moveable metal types*. Of this invention, the following particulars have been preserved in antient records. "Peter Schoeffer of Gensheim, perceiving his master Fust's design, and being ardently desirous to improve the art, found out, (by the good providence of God,) the method of cutting the characters in a matrix, that the letters might easily be singly *cast*, instead of being *cut*. He privately cut *matrices* or moulds for the whole alphabet; and when he shewed his master the letters cast from these matrices, Fust was so pleased with the contrivance, that he promised Peter to give him his only daughter Christina, in marriage; a promise which he soon after performed. But there were as many difficulties at first with these letters, as there had before been with the wooden ones; the metal being too soft to support the force of the impression; but this defect was soon remedied by mixing the metal with a substance which sufficiently hardened it." This invention was carefully kept as a secret till 1462, when the Mentz printers were dispersed in consequence of the siege and capture of that city by the archbishop Adolphus.

The introduction of this art into England has been long attributed to William Caxton, a citizen of London, who having lived many years on the continent, is said to have brought home with him a printing press, which he set up at Westminster, in 1471. But modern discoveries have robbed this patriotic citizen of some at least of his honours, since the University library at Cambridge contains a book printed at Oxford, and bearing the date of 1468. Of this first printing establishment at Oxford, the following curious record has been found in the registry of the See of Canterbury, at Lambeth palace. This antient record states, that as soon as the art of printing made some noise in Europe, Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, moved the then king (Henry VI.) to use all possible means for procuring a printing mould, (for so it was then called,) to be brought into this kingdom. The king (a good man, and much given to works of this nature,) readily hearkened to the motion; and, taking private advice how to effect his design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons as would draw off some of the workmen of Haerlem in Holland, where John Gutenberg had newly invented it, and was himself personally at work. It was resolved, that less than 1000 merks would not produce the desired effect; towards which sum, the said archbishop presented the king 300 merks. The money being now prepared, the management of the design was committed to Mr. Robert Turnour, who then was master of the robes of the king, and a person most in favour with him of any of his condition. Mr. Turnour took to his assistance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who traded much in Holland; which was a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as staying in the Low Countries. Mr. Turnour was in disguise, (his beard and hair shaven quite off;) but Mr. Caxton appeared known and public. They, having received the said sum of 1000 merks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Haerlem itself; for the town was very jealous, having imprisoned and apprehended divers persons who came from other parts for the same purpose. They staid till they had spent the whole thousand marks in gifts and expences; so as the king was fain to send 500 marks more, Mr. Turnour having written to the king that he had almost done his work; a bargain, as he said, being struck between him and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the under-workmen, whose name was Frederic Corsells, (or rather Corsellis,) who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a vessel prepared before for that purpose; and so, the wind favouring the design, brought him safe to London. It was not thought so prudent to set him on work at London: but by the archbishop's means, (who had been vice-chancellor and afterwards chancellor of the university of Oxon,) Corsellis was carried with a guard to Oxon; which guard constantly watched, to prevent Corsellis from any possible escape, till he had made good his promise in teaching them how to print. So that at Oxford was first set up in England, which was before there was any printing-press or printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany, (except the city of Mentz,) which claims seniority, as to printing, even of Haerlem itself, calling her city *Urbem Magantinum artis typographic inventum primam*; though it is known to be otherwise, that city gaining the art by the brother of one of the workmen at Haerlem, who had learnt it at home of his brother, and after set up for himself at Mentz. This press at Oxon was at least ten years before there was any printing in Europe, except at Haerlem and Mentz, where it was but new-born. This press at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be the sole printing place of England, as being too far from London and the sea. Wherefore the king set up a press at St. Alban's, and another in the city of Westminster, where they printed several books of *divinity and physic: for the king*, (for reasons best known to himself and council,) *permitted then no law books to be printed*; nor did any printer exercise that art, but only such as were the king's sworn servants; *the king himself having the price and emolument for printing books.*—By this means the art grew so famous, that anno primo Richard III. c. 9, when an act of parliament was made for restraint of aliens for using any handicrafts here, (except as servants to natives,) a special proviso was inserted, that strangers might bring in printed or written books to sell at their pleasure, and exercise the art of printing here notwithstanding that act: so that in the space of forty or fifty years, by the indulgence of Edward IV. Edward V. Richard III. Henry VII. and

Henry VIII. the English proved so good proficients in printing, and grew so numerous, as to furnish the kingdom with books; and so skilful, as to print them as well as any beyond the seas; as appears by the act 25. Henry VIII. c. 15. which abrogates the sainte proviso for that reason. And it was further enacted in the same statute, that if any person bought foreign books bound, he should pay 6s. 8d. per book. And it was further provided and enacted, that in case the said printers or sellers of books were unreasonable in their prices, they should be moderated by the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, the two lords chief justices, or any two of them; who also had power to fine them 3s. 4d. for every book whose price should be enhanced. But when they were by charter corporated with bookbinders, booksellers, and founders of letters, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, and called *The Company of Stationers*, they kicked against the power that gave them life, &c. Queen Elizabeth, the first year of her reign, grants by patent *the privilege of sole printing all books that touch or concern the common laws of England*, to Tottel, a servant to her majesty, who kept it entire to his death; after him, to one Yest Weirt, another servant to her majesty; after him, to Weight and Norton; and after them, king James grants the same privilege to More, one of the signet; which grant continues to this day," &c. Ency. Brit. Vol. 15. art. printing.

[Note B.] *On the utility of the art of printing.*—An elegant modern essayist has introduced the following remarks on the important consequences of the invention of printing, into one of his papers, which though probably known to many readers of this volume, presents so interesting a view of the subject, couched in such agreeable terms, that the editor could not deny himself the pleasure of introducing them in this place.

“To the art of printing, it is acknowledged, we owe the reformation. It has been justly remarked, that if the books of Luther had been multiplied only by the slow process of the hand-writing, they must have been few, and would have been easily suppressed by the combination of wealth and power: but, poured forth in abundance from the press, they spread over the land with the rapidity of an inundation, which acquires additional force from the efforts used to obstruct its progress. He who undertook to prevent the dispersion of the books once issued from the press, attempted a task no less arduous than the destruction of the hydra. Resistance was vain, and religion was reformed: and we, who are chiefly interested in this happy revolution, must remember, amidst the praises bestowed on Luther, that his endeavours had been ineffectual, unassisted by the invention of Faustus.

“How greatly the cause of religion has been promoted by the art, must appear, when it is considered, that it has placed those sacred books in the hand of every individual, which, besides that they were once locked up in a dead language, could not be procured without great difficulty. The numerous comments on them of every kind, which tend to promote piety, and to form the Christian philosopher, would probably never have been composed, and certainly would not have extended their beneficial influence, if typography had still been unknown. By that art, the light, which is to illuminate a dark world, has been placed in a situation more advantageous to the emission of its rays: but if it has been the means of illustrating the doctrines, and enforcing the practice of religion, it has also, particularly in the present age, struck at the root of piety and moral virtue, by propagating opinions favourable to the sceptic and the voluptuary. It has enabled modern authors wantonly to gratify their avarice, their vanity, and their misanthropy, in disseminating novel systems subversive of the dignity and happiness of human nature: but though the perversion of the art is lamentably remarkable in those volumes which issue, with offensive profusion, from the vain, the wicked, and the hungry, yet this good results from the evil, that as truth is great and will prevail, she must derive fresh lustre, by displaying the superiority of her strength in the conflict with sophistry.

“Thus the art of printing, in whatever light it is viewed, has deserved respect and attention. From the ingenuity of the contrivance, it has ever excited mechanical curiosity; from its intimate connection with learning, it has justly claimed historical notice; and from its extensive influence on morality, politics, and religion, it is now become a subject of very important speculation.

“But however we may felicitate mankind on the invention, there are perhaps those who wish, that, together with its compatriot art of manufacturing gunpowder, it had not yet been brought to light. Of its effects on literature they assert, that it has increased the number of books, till they distract rather than improve the mind; and of its malignant influence on morals, they complain, that it has often introduced a false refinement, incompatible with the simplicity of primitive piety and genuine virtue. With respect to its literary ill consequences, it may be said, that though it produces to the world an infinite number of worthless publications, yet true wit and fine composition will still retain their value; and it will be an easy task for critical discernment to select these from the surrounding mass of absurdity: and though, with respect to its moral effects, a regard to truth extorts the confession, that it has diffused immorality and irreligion, divulged with cruel impertinence the secrets of private life, and spread the tale of scandal through an empire; yet these are evils which will either shrink away unobserved in the triumphs of time and truth over falsehood, or which may, at any time, be suppressed by legislative interposition.” See Knox’s Essays.

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